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Thomas Gilpin.

EXILES IN VIRGINIA:

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WITH OBSERVATIONS

ON THE CONDUCT OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

DURING

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR,

COMPRISING

THE OFFICIAL PAPERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

RELATING TO THAT PERIOD.

1777—1778.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS.
1848.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Introduction to the Journal of the Exiles gives a brief narrative of the banishment of several citizens of Philadelphia, who were sent to Virginia, at the beginning of the war of the American Revolution, and of the events connected with it, until they were remanded by Congress to Pennsylvania to be discharged. And it gives a general account of the Society of Friends in the Province, previously to that time.

The Journal was kept by those of the company who were members of the Society, and refers to the peculiar situation in which they were placed in consequence of the general Resolutions of the Congress of the United States, respecting the war; out of which Resolutions, arose the Orders of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, which directed the arrest of the Friends, and fixed the place of their exile.

To the Journal are added observations of the Society of Friends, upon this treatment of their members, and a defence against the charges made, respecting their political conduct; these exhibit a refutation of the alleged authorship of the several publications imputed to them, which had been sent to Congress, and though obviously not worthy of credit, were printed, and circulated by its order, to the prejudice of the Society.

In the Appendix will be found copies of the Minutes of the Congress, and of the Executive Council, arranged in a continuity of dates; and which correspond with the Journal. The Epistles of the Friends written to their members, advising them to keep out of all warlike measures, are added, in order to comprise all the charges which were alleged against the Society; and there is added to the Introduction, an account of the visits which

a committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, made in October, 1777, to General Howe, at his headquarters, near Germantown, and to General Washington, at the American camp, at Valley Forge, to explain the principles which governed the Society, in relation to the contending parties.

At this time, so far removed from the reminiscences of the Revolution, many of the events here stated may be passing into oblivion, though they had been but partially understood—they relate to the last connexion of the Society of Friends with the government of Pennsylvania, another dynasty having come into power at the Revolution.

Several members of the Society had held prominent positions in the colonial government, the management of it being principally entrusted to them by the Proprietary during his absence in England. His stay in the Province at his two visits occupied less than five years; and it has always been admitted that the judicious and liberal conduct of the Friends gave a peculiar and estimable character to the government, in regard to its colonial and municipal regulations.

In relation to the question of politics as an international concern, the Friends had never taken an active part; for this was never referred to them. The colony had originated from England, with the advantage of being settled from a country which had made the greatest advancements towards religious and republican reformation; and when the differences between America and England took place, the Friends, in common with many others, believed for a long time that England would have been wise enough to redress the grievances of the colonists, and to preserve their affection and allegiance.

There may be some peculiarity in the style of the Journal, and in the occurrences it refers to, many of them being personal; but it was written in the friendly and familiar style to which the party was accustomed, in order to preserve such daily incidents as would be interesting to their connexions at home; and was not intended for publication.

These took place during a painful separation of the Exiles from their families, who had to remain in Philadelphia, then in possession of the British forces, and closely besieged by the Americans, with a view to distress it till it surrendered. At more than one time the city was threatened with conflagration and abandonment, by the British; and as these Friends were conscious of very severe and unworthy treatment, at such a time of anxiety and distress, the Journal is expressive of as little feeling as might have been expected.

The exiled Friends, with their cotemporaries, have been some years since removed by death. Yet their banishment continues to be adverted to in several publications tending to palliate its oppressive character, even at the expense of the character of the sufferers. It is therefore thought proper to print a few copies of the Journal, in order to correct this impression, and to preserve the details of the transaction, with evidences to support them, for the information of persons concerned in the events of that interesting time.

Perhaps the most memorable reference which will be made in future years to the Society of Friends, will be the part they have acted in relation to the Colony of Pennsylvania, which is an essential part of their history. It shows the views they had of the administration of a government, not to have been speculative, but practical; and while it has not been intended to make the notice of this event intrusive, the account of it is due to future history, and to the memory of a worthy and exemplary ancestry.

The settlement of Pennsylvania, under William Penn, presented a character of sincerity, tolerance, and mild government, with a deference to the religious and political feelings of others, not before known on the Continent; this, with his exemplary life, and that of his companions, established a simplicity of manners which has left an impress upon general society, tending to raise it on a basis of merit, and not of rank.

When a comparative view is taken of the practical course

established here, both in government and in the institutions of the country, it would appear just to infer that the republican measures which are now requiring the governments abroad to take into just consideration their duties to the people, have derived much of their force from the example of the last two centuries of their establishment in America.

In several histories of the American Revolutionary War, the writers have been led from ignorance or inattention, to conclude that the Society of Friends opposed the interests of the country by uniting with the partisans of England.

What kind of partisans could be made of a people who withdrew altogether from the civil government whenever its measures had a warlike tendency?—Who never allied themselves to any political party, and when exercising the duties of government, never extended them beyond the requisitions of municipal order!—Who restrained their members within the peaceable spirit of Christianity, as a condition of being continued members of their church!—And who had always been willing to live under any system of government where the rights of the people were respected!

This question has yet to be answered by some future writer, who will advert to the facts, and give a history of the Society of Friends during the Revolutionary War, and of the principles which governed them; for that Society has chosen to be silent where justice due to themselves might be the means of casting censure upon others.

But the banishment of their members has carried an imputation against them into general history;—for in the much-applauded conduct accompanying the Revolution, it has been inferred, that such an act would not have been committed without cause.

It is therefore due to the Friends, and to the position they held in general society, to present a correct statement of the transaction, supported by testimony to place it in a just point of view, and to correct the erroneous impressions which have so long existed in the public mind, and been circulated in the annals of our country.

The reader who may feel interested in the further views of William Penn, may be informed that he had designed to pass the remainder of his days in Pennsylvania, but the attention to his affairs recalled him to England, where he ended his usefulness and his life.

One of the last acts of William Penn on leaving the country for England, was to grant a charter to the public school in Philadelphia, in order to secure good school instruction equally and alike *to all the children of the community.* On the seal of this institution he placed the motto: "GOOD INSTRUCTION IS BETTER THAN RICHES;" with the impressive adage: "Φιλετε Αλληλους;" "LOVE YE ONE ANOTHER." The motto on the seal he had derived from his ancestors, and which he continued to the Province, was "MERCY . JUSTICE."

In his family memoirs he directed that his children should be brought up in the practical knowledge of trades; so that they should not only respect the useful occupations of persons who were dependent upon them, but have them to resort to, in the vicissitudes of life.

William Penn left the Province for England on the 1st day of November, 1701, and his departure became final,—for the state of his affairs did not permit him to return to it. He died at his house at Ruscomb, Berkshire, on the 30th of the 5th month, 1718, being then a member of the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Reading.

He had been distinguished in religious and civil life as a Christian—a philosopher—and a gentleman,—and this occasion seems to call for an insertion of the obituary memorial recorded concerning him; taken from minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Reading,—which, if it were ever published, is not now to be obtained.

THOMAS GILPIN.

Philadelphia, September 10th, 1848.

A TESTIMONY CONCERNING WILLIAM PENN.

From the Monthly Meeting for Berkshire, England, held at Reading, 31st of the 1st month, 1719.

Our Friend William Penn departed this life at his home at Ruscomb, in the County of Berks, on the 30th of the fifth month, 1718, and his body was conveyed thence the 7th of the sixth month following, to the Friends Burying Ground at Jorden's, in Buckinghamshire, where he was honourably interred, being accompanied by many Friends, and others from distant parts.

Being a member of our Monthly Meeting at the time of his decease, and for some years before, we can do no less, in giving the foregoing account, than say something of the character of so worthy a man; and not only refer to other meetings where his residence was in former times, who are witnesses of the great self-denial he underwent in the prime of his youth, and the patience with which he bore many a heavy cross; but think it our duty to cast in our mite to set forth in part his deserved commendation.

He was a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition; quick of thought and of ready utterance; full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers—ready to forgive enemies, and the ungrateful were not excepted.

Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some deficiencies, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation, and judging in charity, even that part of his conduct may be attributed to a peculiar sublimity of mind.

Notwithstanding which, he may without straining his character, be ranked among the learned—good—and great; whose

abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his elaborate writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.

And although in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent disease, his intellect was much impaired, yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained when reason almost failed.

In fine, he was learned without vanity—apt without forwardness—facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition—as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity—a man—a scholar—a friend—a minister, surpassing in speculative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just.

Signed, on behalf and on appointment of said meeting.

William Lambole,
Clerk.

Taken from the Reading Records, 3d month 7, 1813.

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INTRODUCTION.

Many of the important events of American history have been carefully handed down to us by notes or tradition; and when these have a public or private estimation, it is a tribute due to posterity to render the narrative permanent before a further lapse of time may subject it to uncertainty.

The intention of this volume is to preserve an account of some interesting incidents which occurred in Pennsylvania in the war of the American Revolution, for the use of the descendants of those persons who were unexpectedly involved in them. They arose out of that great event, and will show that the principles of justice and liberty then advocated for the nation, should have been more consistently dispensed to the rights which were due to individuals.

The Settlement of the Province of Pennsylvania, by William Penn, formed a new era in the liberties of mankind.

It opened an asylum in which to originate a new government upon the principles of "*Mercy and Justice*," contemplated from previous ages to form the basis of the social and natural relations.

It afforded a resting-place, where the conscientious and oppressed people of Europe might repose, and enjoy the rights of civil and religious freedom which mankind had derived as an inheritance from the Creator.

The benevolent founder of the Colony declared these to be his first objects in making the settlement, and he secured them to the people as their chartered privileges.

In one of his letters to a friend in England, immediately after having obtained his Charter of the Province in 1681, he wrote: "I have obtained the Province and desire to keep it, which may answer the kind providence of God to serve his truth and people, that an example may be set to the nations: there may be room there, though not here, for such a holy experiment."*

The first settlement of the Colony was personally attended to by William Penn, in 1682, and he established it in peace. It was hoped that under the blessing of Providence, the settlers there could carry out the principles of the Christian religion—they believed these principles to be of the highest benefit to mankind, and that they were capable of sustaining them in a practical course of conduct to each other in public and in private life.

The soil of Pennsylvania was thus granted to William Penn, and the Colonial Government entrusted to him, under his well-known principles as a member of the Society of Friends; and as this Society has had an interesting connexion and influence in the country from its early history, it is proper to trace out its origin and character.

"The Religious Society of Friends," which title it is proper to give it in consideration of their peaceable and friendly conduct, in lieu of the sobriquet of "Quakers" arose in England about the year 1645; and on their principles becoming known, they were joined by a large number of people from various sects, who were dissatisfied with many of the religious professions of the time, and were prepared to withdraw from them; for they did not appear to support by example or precept the doctrines of Christ or the Apostles, as set forth in the New Testament.

The enlarged and independent views taken by the Friends, led them to contemplate the nature of the Christian religion, and with it the simplicity and virtue of the primitive churches;

* Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. i. 169, notes.

to compare this with the ecclesiastical authority assumed by subsequent churches over the civil and religious rights of the people, and to examine into a system which had such an immediate relation to themselves, and to general society.

At an early period the advice and care of the Apostles were extended to direct the churches to the purity in which they were established, and to avoid the general errors of the times; but deviations took place afterwards, arising from an external intercourse, and from various causes.

The Christians having had no place as a distinct people, existed as a religious sect dispersed among the nations. It is only recorded "the Disciples were called Christians first in Antioch."* For the first two or three centuries, no other historical accounts can be obtained of them, than from the lives of those Fathers who succeeded the immediate Apostles, and these show a uniform spirit of meekness and fidelity consistent with their original principles.

During the first and second centuries, the Christians would not render to the state any military service, though many attempts were made to engage them in it; they were uniform in the refusal by the declaration, "*I am a Christian, and cannot fight,*" which produced a further separation from the people, and it was a further cause of the frequent martyrdoms they suffered.

Although they remained a distinct sect, and were sought out and persecuted even as objects for sacrifice, the Christians became numerous, so that after the third century, Constantine and the succeeding emperors granted them protection, in order to secure their assistance and support

Becoming more and more allied to the Roman interest, and mixed with the people, they had so deviated from their original principles as to be extensively employed as soldiers. By their movement with the armies, their religion was greatly extended through the empire and provinces, in which they contributed mainly to support the declining state; whence a union took

* Acts ii. 26.

place between civil and religious power, partly military and partly hierarchal, yet with such an introduction of heathen customs and warlike requisitions, as very much to destroy the Christian character.

Yet under this external relation of the church, a clergy was established which governed it in matters of opinion and faith; and when there were any disputed points of orthodoxy, the bishops, with the other clergy, called councils to settle them, under a united authority of the churches.

Six of these, called General Councils, were held from the years 325 to 680, besides numerous others of lesser importance. But in few or none of these assemblages were any satisfactory conclusions to be arrived at. Under the profession of religion, a contention for points of doctrine resulted in contentions for supremacy; and the decisions of the conventions being only suited to the parties in power, increased the schisms of the churches.

The bishops of Rome having been seated at the most celebrated place in the empire, began early to claim the exclusive title of Pope, and about the year 655, it was acceded to by the other bishops, though it had been previously the title of them all; from thence it remained in the see of Rome, undisputed in Christendom for the nine succeeding centuries.

During this long period the ecclesiastical annals give an account of the most arbitrary extension of the Roman papal power over all the Christian churches and kingdoms, and over the liberties and consciences of the people, until it was broken into in the sixteenth century, and partly divided among other sects at the Protestant reformation.

But this division eventually proved to be rather a change of condition than a reform in the churches, for those which succeeded had no precedents or ideas beyond an alteration or a modification of the general system of hierarchy, and a dispensation from some of the more formal and imposing ceremonies. They set up a new establishment of clergy, with expensive endowments, under an appropriation of the benefices derived from papal revenues, and even perverted to its service many

of the previous endowments of the Catholic charitable institutions. No latitude of opinion or faith was allowed beyond the articles of the newly prescribed creed. An imputation of heresy rested upon those who might conscientiously think for themselves; and as the churches formed again alliances with the governments, no relief could be obtained for the people from the further exactions and arbitrary control of the clergy.

This re-established connexion of church and state was unsatisfactory to the judgment and feeling of a sensible laity, and there were many independent persons, who not choosing to submit to such intellectual and moral servitude, turned their minds to the simple doctrines and injunctions of the Christian religion, which they believed to be addressed to the attention of every one; they were not satisfied with the prescribed forms adopted by the established churches, nor with any vicarious substitutes for the obligations of Christian duty; but they turned at once to the Christian example and precepts, to conform to whatever they deemed them to require, and to reject whatever they prohibited,—and thus unswayed by fear or favour, to be accountable only to the responsibilities they enjoined.

Among these, the most steady and patient, but efficient denial of the claims of the clergy was made by the Friends,—who appeared at a later period than most of the others, to be dissentients from the established church; and who on their rise into a society, would not admit that the clergy had any right whatever, according to Christian discipline, to the positions they had assumed, and to the control which had been incautiously granted them. In addition to this, the clergy had become imperious and unfeeling, supporting their power by ecclesiastical laws and authority, living very expensively upon tithes and requisitions, exacted from the people under very severe oppression.

This independent conduct became alarming to the Protestant hierarchies of England, and caused the Friends there to suffer severe contumely and persecution under the clerical power,

and under the influence it had created with the government. Their members, for want of conformity, had to suffer long imprisonments, loss of their property, distress of their families, and loss of life, which was continued until their persecutors were checked by public sympathy, for the infliction of continued injustice upon an innocent and conscientious people.

In return for this course of oppression, the Friends formed no parties—they resisted no one—they returned no injury upon any one; and while they considered their own mode of life would be injurious to no government, and offensive to no society instituted for the peaceable enjoyment of religion or the protection of the community, they persevered in living and conducting themselves according to their own mode of worship, and their own convictions of duty.

During this time, this people was not chargeable with being useless or inadequate members of society: in their various occupations they were industrious, were true to their promises and engagements, and contributed like others to the support of government.

In social kindness and sympathy, and in the requisitions of private and public duty they were distinguished, and they were prominent in institutions of high character for intelligence, usefulness, and benevolence.

At the same time that they kept out of all political parties or religious conventions, they made every respectful appeal to the government to be relieved from the unjust sufferings they had to endure. Further than this they could not go. For they never joined in measures for supplanting or overturning the constituted authorities, because this could not be done without violating their peaceable principles—"to live in peace with all men."

They respected the powers of the government and a system of just laws as the guide of human action, and for the order and support of the structure of society.

Confiding in the benevolence of the Christian religion as capable of influencing the human heart, they believed it to be

sufficient to remedy the evils and to correct the errors of the age; they believed, also, that if this had been the faithful object of the church, it would, long before their day, have brought the people under better discipline than could be attained by the civil government, with its code of voluminous and intricate laws.

As a contrast to the pompous establishments of the church and the state, with hierarchies, armies, and clerical parade, and after centuries of ecclesiastical controversies, how extraordinary was the rise and existence of a people disclaiming any connexion with the wars of the state or with the dissensions of the churches, and determining to govern themselves by a line of truthful conduct—to be guided by good-will to all mankind according to the plain dictates of truth and the philosophy of the Christian religion.

It was said of this Society by Oliver Cromwell, "Now I see there has arisen a people which I cannot win with gifts, honours, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can."* And Admiral Penn said, among his last words to his son William Penn, soon after to become proprietary of Pennsylvania, whom in his early life he had banished from his house for having joined the Society of Friends, "Son William, if you and your Friends keep to your plain way of living, and to your plain way of preaching, you will make an end of the priests, to the end of the world."†

Believing they had Christian authority for their existence as a religious society, the Friends established their church system independently of all civil assistance, with but few rules: these were of a practical character in conformity with the prescriptions of the New Testament.

They had no specific articles for their religion, written out to be adopted as required by other churches; but an account of their belief was set forth by many experienced writers, and approved of by the Society.

* Marsh's popular Life of George Fox, p. 12.
† Sparks's Life of William Penn, 1845, p. 253.

They relied upon the guidance of an inward principle of divine truth in the mind.

They abrogated among themselves all regard to the established clerical power, which they believed to be the assumption of a latter age, and that there was no authority for it in the permission of Christ, or in the practice of the Apostles; and they would render no military service, because they believed every act of warfare to be an abrogation of the principles of Christianity.

They disconnected themselves with the civil power, and advised their members to decline appointments to civil offices, because in the required duties they might not be able to give satisfaction consistently with their principles.

Their members were recommended to practise economy, and to encourage simplicity in their domestic relations, in order to avoid inducements to luxury and show.

They took care of their indigent members, to place them in a way to obtain a maintenance; but when their poor became aged or disabled, and could not support themselves, they were privately assisted out of the funds of the Society. In addition to this, in common with other citizens, their members supported the public poor.

They mostly settled disputes arising between their members by an arbitrament of persons specially appointed among themselves, without an appeal to law, unless when it became expedient to obtain legal decisions, and their members were required by the Society to do justice to others.

The institution of marriage was performed by a public declaration of the parties during the sitting of their friends at a religious meeting. They were not allowed the interference of any clerical authority. The witnesses were their common friends, and a certificate of the marriage, signed by themselves and the witnesses, was placed on the records of the Society.

The Friends did not conform to outward ceremonies in the Christian religion, because in the devotion of mind and conduct which it enjoined, these appeared to them to be the lesser types

or services; and they found that when they had been made commemorative and periodical, and performed by any church officer, it led to an external and vicarious dependence, from which followed superstitious ceremonies, differing widely from the character of the original institution.

In their private meetings, which were for discipline, nothing was introduced but the business of the church; and except that this had occasionally some relation to personal concerns, the meetings might have been open to every one. The business related to the general condition or economy of the church, advice to its members, its finances and charities, and often to such sympathies as the Friends might be interested in, for the benefit of others.

No person presided at those meetings, for general respect preserved order; any person was allowed to speak on the subjects under consideration when offered to the meeting by any of the members or produced by the clerk; and when the meeting, after a general expression of sentiment, came to a conclusion, the clerk recorded it.

No question was ever taken or decided by a vote, to ascertain a majority; for the dignity of the meeting did not permit it. Arguments on subjects under consideration were openly offered and reference made to the general principles of the Society to sustain them; but as the truth would lead to but one conclusion, it was the purpose of the meeting calmly to discover it, and a minority having a clear view of a subject, often led to the good and final judgment of the meeting; at those times when the meeting could not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, the subject was postponed for further reflection and unanimity.

The Society acknowledged a ministry among themselves, to arise from impressions of religious duty on the part of exemplary and pious persons, who might preach in their public meetings for worship; but these were to have no pay nor distinction beyond their other members.

Their houses for public worship were neat, and convenient, built without ornament, but made comfortable, and were open

to all persons who were inclined to attend them. The religious worship in their meetings was without any forms or ceremonies. It consisted in an effort of the mind to advert to their religious duties, under a belief that these would be made known by the Spirit of Truth to all persons, even when they might not be directed to them by a teacher or minister.

Under the solemnity of a silent and sedate assembly, order was always preserved; and as the Christian principles were obviously true, and necessary to be put in practice in the common walks of life, it was believed their relative injunctions would be the principal objects for religious contemplation.

The houses to meet in were not regarded as places of sanctity; for the Friends believed that it was the *members* of a Christian society who constituted *a church*, and that, as on the occasion of the "Sermon on the Mount," they might be as properly assembled there, as in the Temple.

The Friends could not give evidence on any occasion on the pledge of an Oath, not only because they believed it to be forbidden by the precepts of the New Testament, but because they claimed it to be the right of every freeman of unimpaired veracity, to have credence when he stated a fact to be true.

This caused the Friends to suffer much in England from the want of legal testimony, for about fifty years; but they were relieved from taking oaths in 1696, by a special act of Parliament, and from thence a dispensation from taking oaths was introduced into most of the colonial governments of America, and into the Constitution of the United States. From the years 1828 to 1838, several acts were passed by Parliament to dispense with the use of oaths in England, in favour of conscientious persons, who declined to take them; and at the reorganization of the government now going on in France, pledges by oath are dispensed with in that nation.

Schools or seminaries were established by the Friends to afford the most useful course of scholastic education, from the elementary or primary institutes to the highest branches of mathematics and of classical literature, with selections from the best Latin and Greek authors, and the use of the Hebrew

Bible. The pupils were taught under no prescriptive form of religious rules further than to secure a system of orderly and moral conduct. The schools were open for the admission of the children of all persons who approved of their course of useful and guarded education.

Their burial-places were arranged to be without ornament, display, or expense, and to be used free of any charge. Burials were permitted of all persons who were professors with the Society, and of all other persons, free of charge, who had desired to be buried in their ground.

In their native land and that of their forefathers, the religious Society of Friends had not been allowed these natural and inoffensive privileges. The power of the church, united with the power of the government, had controlled the rights of the people under laws and prejudices to such an extent, that whenever there was a prospect of civil or religious liberty arising to restore the natural rights of mankind, it was suppressed under a pretence of its interference with the prescribed privileges of the clergy, or with some of the sectarian institutions having a temporary possession of power.

In looking over "The Annals of the Christian Church," as collected by an Episcopalian minister,* and lately published, the historical incidents show that the Christian spirit of meekness and kindness had not been in unison with it since the early ages.

It was scarcely free from the persecutions under the Roman government, when it became united with the civil power, and the records of that period give an account of the continued discords and internal dissensions which arose out of church power and supremacy, with a detail of contentious councils, excommunications, crusades, heresies, massacres, and protracted deliberations upon abstract and incomprehensible matters, inquisitions to test faith in absurd doctrines, and persecutions and martyrdoms which were inflicted upon the most virtuous people, and upon those who made attempts to reform

* See Ecclesiastical Chronology, by the Rev. J. E. Riddle, London, 1840.

the errors of the church, or to correct the conduct of the clergy.

If the errors of those times were also those of the civil government during what was so generally called the "Dark Ages," that period was emphatically darkened under the dominion of the officers of a church who claimed to be an educated class or rank in society, and who suffered no light of instruction to come among the people. It had set up, and it had put down at will, kings and rulers in Christendom for many ages; it annulled at will the allegiance of the people to the governments; it controlled the circulation of the Scriptures and of printing; it confined or dispensed all literature and knowledge, as well as the tuition of the schools; it took out of the courts of justice any cases of crime to which, through favouritism, the clerical power chose to afford the celebrated "Benefit of Clergy," to transfer them to the ecclesiastical courts, and dispose of them as they should see proper; and it threatened with the punishments of the Inquisition some of the most enlightened philosophers for revealing the works of God benevolently handed through them to mankind.

The power of the Christian Church to obtain the estates of the people, was beyond all similitude in the annals of any country.

Under the specious pleas of charity or for spiritual service or intercession, more than one half the lands in England became diverted from its legal descent to the lawful heirs, by bequests made to the clergy and to the churches; and although the government passed successive statutes of mortmain during more than *five hundred years* to annul such legacies, the laws were fraudulently evaded by the devices of the clergy, and continued to be so, until the church power became weakened at the Protestant Revolution.

It will not therefore appear strange that professors of the Christian religion desirous to live under it in its purity, should make their escape from such scenes of distrust and confusion; for even when the Reformation had taken place in England,

and the Papal or Roman Catholic supremacy terminated, the Protestant part of the community was left unprepared to build up a system without its errors; this party had still its views of maintaining a civil and clerical power, and of obtaining the wealth of the church establishments: in consequence of which it divided into contending parties.

Some of these people who emigrated and came to America, were of the highly religious professions. They escaped it is true from the control of the Protestant supremacy which had just succeeded to the Roman Catholic; but their Exodus did not take place in that spirit of kindness to others which a common suffering should have taught them: they did not extend a toleration of religion to their Christian brethren; but instead of this, a spirit of religious domination accompanied them, particularly into New England, and was engrafted into their laws and institutions.

It is now proper to advert to the Colony of Pennsylvania, to see how far it was preserved from these evils by the peculiarity of its settlement; and it ought to be borne in mind that the Society of Friends who settled that province, had dissented more materially than others from many of the civil as well as from the religious institutions in England, and therefore the support of their tenets was attended by peculiar difficulties.

All the church establishments, and the military system, and their extended interests, were in direct opposition to the views of the Friends; and as to the legal profession, their prudential conduct was a peaceful example against its controversies, expenses, and impositions.

Having undergone many severe persecutions in England for their religious conduct for nearly half a century, the Friends were the last company who left there to settle in America. They availed themselves of the opportunity to emigrate under the auspices of their fellow-member William Penn, on his obtaining, on the 4th of March, 1681, a grant of the Province of Pennsylvania from King Charles II., in order to make a peace-

ful settlement in the western world, and to get rid of their oppressions in their native land.

They trusted with great reliance that the same principles as those of the Gospel would appear in the minds of the untutored Indians, who would become willing to participate in the offering of a peaceful spirit.

Trusting also to the integrity which guided their own conduct, they firmly relied upon their Christian faith to sustain them in a wild and foreign country, unmolested by the unfeeling disposition manifested by the people at home, who under the profession of Christianity, had cast aside the cardinal principles of benevolence and justice.

It was this people who convinced by their truthful conduct the natives of the country of the sincerity of their profession, and of the efficiency of their peaceful plan of settlement, and extended the toleration of religion to the members of all societies. By their frame of government they granted *as a chartered right*, liberty of conscience to all people who would settle in the Province; and it was the only one which had been granted to mankind by any of the professors of Christianity.

In the contemplation of this, and of the peaceful alliance between the Friends and the Indian natives, Voltaire has recorded: "It was the only treaty made with the natives of the New World which was not ratified by an oath, and the only one which has not been broken."

There are several authors who have made or extended the same remarks. In Arthur O'Leary's Essay on Toleration he says: "William Penn, the great legislator of the Quakers, had the success of a conqueror in establishing and defending his colony without ever drawing the sword; the tenderness of an universal father, who opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect or party; and in his republic it was not the religious creed, but personal merit that entitled every member of society to the protection and emoluments of the state."

The frame of government formed by the Proprietary for the inhabitants, was executed in England, 25th April, 1682. It was

in the nature of a mutual compact, and it was not to be altered without the consent of the Proprietary and of six-sevenths of the freemen of the Provincial Council and Assembly. It was in twenty-four articles and forty laws. The law on Religious Rights is as follows:

"That all persons living in this Province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and who hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith or worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship-place or ministry whatever."*

The Abbe Raynal in his History of the Indies says: "Penn's humanity could not be extended to the savages only; it extended to all who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of a people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those true principles of private felicity—liberty and property."

"The mind dwells with pleasure upon this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America inspires."†

Montesquieu, in the Spirit of Laws, has the following sentiment on the government of Pennsylvania :‡

"A character so extraordinary in the institutions of Greece, has shown itself lately in the dregs and corruptions of modern times; a very honest legislator has formed a people to whom probity seems as natural as bravery to the Spartans.

"Mr. Penn is a real Lycurgus, and, although the former made peace his principal aim, as the latter did war, yet, they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people,—in the ascendency they had over freemen, in the prejudices they overcame, and in the passions which they subdued."

* See Proud's History of Pennsylvania, Appendix No. 2, page 19.
† See Raynal, Book 18. ‡ See 4th Book.

Of these rights to the natural gifts of Providence as far as they could be secured by the Proprietary to his fellow-beings, they were fully sensible. It gave them the first practical assurance—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

For the welcome reception which the natives of the country gave to the emigrants they deserved the kindness which was shown them, and they were sensible of this when they received it.

In consequence of the quarrelsome conduct of the colonists on the north and on the south of Pennsylvania, the fiercest wars with the natives had ensued; but in this Province they joined in with the peaceful spirit that prevailed, and became kind and friendly,—so that love and respect without fear governed their relation to each other.

In the agreements made between the natives and the government or settlers, there were considerations of mutual benefit.

The *natives* granted amicably the liberty of settlement, occupation of the soil and residence, and these afforded a mutual accommodation of their interests, tending to an increase of their happiness.

The *settlers* introduced among the natives improvements in the adaptation of the country for agriculture, and social life, then commencing in the western world, and soon to come among them.

"The publication of this settlement and of the frame of government, spread through Europe, and added to the celebrity and filling up of this colony from many of the kingdoms and states, surcharged with oppressed inhabitants, under the feudal system."* And under such an equitable arrangement for mutual benefit, as long as the affairs of the colony were under the control of the Friends, for about seventy years, there were no differences with the Indians, for they were satisfied that their rights and interests were respected equally with the rights of any other people in the Province.

* See Miers Fisher's Notes.

But when the European Seven Years' War broke out between France and England, which existed from 1756 to 1763, and was carried on in America by the English for the conquest of Canada, the Indians on the frontier became influenced by the French into hostile measures, and as auxiliaries they invaded Western Pennsylvania, and fought the battle near Pittsburg, at the defeat of General Braddock, on the 9th of July, 1755.

This was the first instance of hostile conduct on the part of the Indians, and in Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 325, he writes, "The Indians remained very inimical for some time, till the return of the Shawnese and Delawares to a pacific disposition. This was greatly promoted by the conduct of the principal Quakers. Israel Pemberton and several others had invited some friendly Indians to their tables, and awakened their earnest wishes for peace. This conference was held by permission of the governor (Robert Hunter Morris). But by the advice of his council, the subject was left entirely to the management of the Friends."

The Colony of Pennsylvania had thus continued to realize the best expectations which could have been formed for it. The inhabitants, guided by good examples, were industrious; the land productive, the laws equal, religious rights were enjoyed by all, and a representative government in the hands of the people.

The foreign or international concerns of the country were in the hands of the British government, and but little influenced the administration of the Colony. By the treaty of 1763, made with France, that nation ceded to the English all the Canada country, in favour of their retaining which, at the peace, Doctor Franklin took a very active and efficient interest, and addressed to the ministry his celebrated Canada pamphlet. This country became thus united to the English colonies, and the toleration of religion was not only introduced there, but extended through the valley of the Mississippi, and was eventually secured through all western North America.

The Society of Friends had never engaged in any national controversies of religion or politics, for their views of the injunctions of the Christian religion, and of its conservative character, were paramount to every other consideration. They had a belief that the dispensation of this religion was sufficiently opened to mankind to be of practical application, so that when differences occurred, they could and ought to be settled upon the catholic principles it enjoined.

When, therefore, after the British nation had become the unrivalled possessors of nearly all the continent of North America, and the measures of that government tended to pass laws restrictive upon the colonies, which created differences proceeding to retaliation and independent rule, a state of difficulty ensued, requiring the Society of Friends to sustain its peaceable principles by an injunction upon its members to withdraw from all warlike measures.

It ought not to be considered unreasonable that the Friends, after having under their own peaceful laws and discipline provided for all the exigencies of the state, both "for the savage and the sage," should have declined to take any part in a contest among their own brethren, waging a warfare to an extent they could not estimate, and certainly not control.

And was it just or reasonable that the Friends, who had established and conducted the government for nearly a century under the principles of peace, should on a change of power in the province, be *proscribed and treated as aliens and enemies to their country*, because they could not join in hostile measures when these were expedient only according to the judgment of others? And would it not have been consistent with the rights of mankind, so well known as the purpose of the Revolution, that the motives and conduct of the Friends should have been clearly ascertained, that as a conscientious people they should have been accordingly protected, and allowed to remain quietly at their homes, without molestation?

Just as these considerations are claimed to be, the following narrative will show what little regard was paid to the

Friends in Philadelphia, for their considerate and equitable conduct to others ! !

During the second year of the war of the American Revolution, the English army was brought round by sea from New York into Chesapeake Bay ; they were landed near the head of the bay on the 22d of August, and after the battle of Brandywine on the 11th of September, 1777, they passed through the State of Pennsylvania, to take possession of the city of Philadelphia.

The House of Congress was then in session at Philadelphia, —the Legislature of Pennsylvania,—and the Supreme Executive Council, consisting of twelve members with its president, established by the State Constitution of 28th September, 1776,—and there also sat the Committee of Safety, which held its private assemblages as an acting committee, whose doings and minutes were assumed by the Supreme Executive Council.

Congress, by a resolve of 25th August, 1777, recommended as follows: "That the executive officers of the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, be requested to cause all persons, within the respective States, *notoriously disaffected*, forthwith to be *disarmed and secured*, until such time as they may be released without injury to the common cause.

"That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, to cause diligent search to be made in the houses of all the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, who have not manifested their attachment to the American cause, *for firearms, swords, bayonets*, &c."

These resolutions, from their construction, could scarcely have been intended for the Society of Friends.

But under the *general* recommendation of these resolutions, the Supreme Executive Council considered it within their license to arrest several of the most respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia, chiefly of the Society of Friends, *to represent them* to be amenable to the charges contained in it, and because they would not consent to be subjected to such a deprivation of their liberty as was unworthy of respectable citizens, and men of unim-

peachable character, and as they would not assent to join in with the measures of the Revolution, the Council declared *the Friends to be notoriously disaffected to the cause of American freedom.* Their case was then reported to a Congress unacquainted with their principles, and with their personal character.

Nearly at the same time, as appears on the minutes of Congress of 28th August, 1777, there had been transmitted to it a letter from General Sullivan, dated at Hanover, near Newark, New Jersey, on the 25th August, enclosing a paper said to have been found among baggage taken at Staten Island.

This paper professed to contain information from a yearly meeting of Friends, said to be held on the 19th of August, at *Spanktown*, a place scarcely known even as an inferior part of Rahway, *which was a remote town* on the east side of New Jersey.

Owing to the ignorance of Congress respecting the Society of Friends, this production became thus imposed upon them. It stated under its date of 25th August, that General Howe had landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and it contained various desultory information of a very inconsistent character, which Congress, under date of 31st August, directed to be published,—a copy of which is given in this volume, and it is yet to be found at the Philadelphia Library, in No. 2533 of the Pennsylvania Register, dated 10th September, 1777, and also in No. 304 of Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, of Tuesday, 9th September, 1777. In both of these it is certified to be published by *Order of Congress, by Charles Thomson, Secretary.*

By the charge of authorship of such a production upon the Society of Friends, it was intended still farther to injure their character in the estimation of Congress, to lead to an inference that their religious meetings were connected with political purposes, and to create prejudices against them among the people; but a full exculpation of the Society from any shadow of its authorship is to be found in the contradictory statements of dates in the paper itself, as well as in its general tenor and

character; and this is fully set forth in the course of the following Journal and Memoirs. In these it will be seen—

In the first place, that no meeting of the Society had ever been held at the designated place—selected as if in derision of the Society, "*Spanktown*"—the places of holding their yearly meetings being always at the most respectable towns or cities through the country, and advertised in the annual publications.

In the second place, that the letter professed to contain information from the eastern part of New Jersey, and to be brought by way of Staten Island under date of 19*th August*, respecting the landing of the British army at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, which *did not take place till the* 22*d August.* The intelligence of this, however, had reached Philadelphia on the 23d, and must have been known to Congress, because it is stated on their minutes on the 25th August, and thence there was issued the publication made by their order on the 31st August.

It would appear almost useless to add to this statement any remarks respecting such a publication, and of the impropriety and unkindness of thus intending to injure the standing of a large and respectable portion of fellow-citizens in the opinion of an uninformed, and therefore undiscriminating public. But, if owing to a want of time or the agitating military movements in the country, the Supreme Executive Council, who were then appointed to be the guardians of the rights of the people, had not prevented the application made by the persons so charged to have a hearing in a court of justice, these misrepresentations would have been made obvious; the Friends would then have been placed in public estimation in that state of innocence and inoffensive character which their accusers were compelled to accede to them, after these attempts to criminate them and to debar them of their constitutional rights had failed.

The persons arrested, to the number of twenty, form the subject of this volume, and were part of a larger list. They were taken into custody by military force at their homes or usual places of business; many of them could not obtain any

knowledge of the cause of their arrest, or of any one to whom they were amenable, and they could only hope to avail themselves of the intervention of some civil authority.

The Executive Council being formed of residents of the City and County of Philadelphia, had a better knowledge of the Society of Friends, and of their individual characters, than the members of Congress, assembled from the various parts of the country, and ought to have protected them. But instead of this, they caused these arrests of their fellow-citizens to be made with unrelenting severity, and from the first to the fourth day of September, 1777, the party was taken into confinement in the Masons' Lodge in Philadelphia.

On the minutes of Congress of 3d September, 1777, it appears that a letter was received by them from George Bryan, Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council, dated *2d September*, stating that arrests had been made of persons inimical to the American States, and desiring the advice of Congress particularly *whether Augusta and Winchester, in Virginia, would not be proper places at which to secure the prisoners.*

Appalled by the cruelty of such a novel proposition, the persons arrested immediately represented the injustice of such treatment to the Supreme Executive Council and to Congress; and their remonstrances were accompanied, under a very feeling consideration of their case, by an address to the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, signed by most of the other members of the Society in and near Philadelphia—a copy of which is given in the Journal. In this memorial they state "that these persons were denied the just and reasonable right of *being heard*, and since ordered to be removed to a distant part of Virginia: a proceeding which not only affects the persons immediately concerned, but is an alarming violation of the civil and religious rights of the community, which we conceive no plea of necessity can justify."

Congress must have been aware that it was becoming a case of very unjust suffering, for they passed their resolution of 6th September, 1777, as follows:

"That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, to hear what the said remonstrants can allege to remove the suspicions of their being disaffected or dangerous to the United States."

But the Supreme Executive Council on the same day referring to the above,

"Resolved, That the President do write to Congress to *let them know that the Council has not time to attend to that business* in the present alarming crisis, *and that they were*, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, at the moment the Resolve was brought into Council, *disposing of every thing for the departure of the prisoners.*"

By reference to the preceding minutes of Congress, it appears evident that the Supreme Executive Council had been directed only *to arrest and secure* persons adjudged to be notoriously disaffected to the cause of America; *to take* from them firearms, swords, bayonets, &c., and *to obtain and secure political papers.* And it further appears, that even after the Council had informed Congress of the arrests they had made, and proposed on the 2d day of September to send the parties to banishment into Virginia, that Congress recommended to the Council on the 6th September, to "hear what the remonstrants can allege in their defence."

Had this been permitted, the persons arrested would have been found innocent of *any notorious disaffection to the cause of America*, or of having used any influence in regard to the existing contest. After their houses had been searched, there were found no instruments of offence or of defence even for personal security, much less *firearms, swords, or bayonets*, and although their desks were broken open in their absence, no papers of a political character could be found—*because they never had corresponded with any one relatively to the Revolution, or to controversial politics.*

The act of sending from their homes and families peaceable citizens against whom no imputation could be sustained; whose positions in business were permanent; whose attention was in-

dispensable to the immediate necessities of their families; and whose principles and conduct were a full security to the public peace,—was against the established assurances of society, and an act of violence and oppression.

Thus arrested, they were conducted away without previous notice;—without conference with their accusers;—held in custody without specific allegation;—committed without a trial;—to be punished without a hearing;—and then to be banished for an indefinite time, without reference to any degree of supposed offence.

The recommendations of Congress respecting the military precautions of the war were made general, but the executive authorities were charged with *the just application of them.* As the Supreme Executive Council had taken the responsibility of this, Congress considered the persons arrested to be prisoners of the State of Pennsylvania; and as such subjected to the orders of the Supreme Executive Council, and the destination it had allotted them.

As the recommendation of Congress of the 6th September, to give the prisoners a hearing, was refused by the Supreme Executive Council, the next minute made by Congress was as follows:

"In Congress, 8 September, 1777.

"Resolved, That it would be improper for Congress to enter into a hearing of the remonstrants or other prisoners in the Masons' Lodge, they being inhabitants of Pennsylvania; and therefore, as the Council declines giving them a hearing for the reasons assigned in their letter to Congress, that it be recommended to said Council to order the immediate departure of such of the said prisoners as yet refuse to swear or affirm allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, to Staunton, in Virginia."

The remonstrances made to Congress, and to the Supreme Executive Council, being unavailing, the parties arrested were ordered to depart for Virginia, on the 11th September, 1777,

when as their last resource they applied under the laws of Pennsylvania to be brought before the Judicial Court by writs of habeas corpus.

The departure of the prisoners was committed to the care of Colonel Jacob Morgan of Bucks County, and they were guarded by six of the Light Horse, commanded by Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell, who were to obey the despatches from the Board of War, of which General Horatio Gates was President, directed to the Lieutenants of the counties through which the prisoners were to pass.

The writs of habeas corpus on being presented to the Chief Justice, were marked by him, "*Allowed by Thomas M'Kean*," and they were served on the officers who had the prisoners in custody, when they had been taken on their journey as far as Reading, Pennsylvania, on the 14th day of September, but the officers refused to obey them.

It appears by the Journal of the Supreme Executive Council of the 16th of September, that Alexander Nesbitt, one of the officers, had previously obtained information about the writs, and made a report of them; when the Pennsylvania Legislature, at the instance of the Supreme Executive Council, passed a law on the 16th of September, 1777, to suspend the habeas corpus act; and although it was an "ex post facto" law as it related to their case, the Supreme Executive Council on that day ordered the same to be carried into effect.

The Congress must have been utterly regardless of the complaint made so lately by themselves against the arbitrary conduct of the British Parliament, when they disregarded this appeal made to themselves for humanity and justice. The following is an extract from one of their addresses to the people of Great Britain, and is dated on the 21st October, 1774.

"We hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences without having an opportunity of making his defence."*

* See Hubley, p. 95.

Disregarding, however, all remonstrances, these citizens, without the semblance of justice or law, were sent into banishment.

The party consisted of twenty persons, of whom seventeen were members of the Society of Friends. They were ordered first to Staunton, then a frontier town in the western settlements of Virginia, but afterwards to be detained at Winchester, where they were kept in partial confinement nearly eight months, *without provision being made for their support.* For the only reference to this, was by a resolution of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, dated 8th April, 1778, as follows:

"*Ordered, That the whole expenses of arresting and confining the prisoners sent to Virginia, the expenses of their journey, and all other incidental charges, be paid by the said prisoners.*"

During the stay of the exiles at Winchester, nearly all of them suffered greatly from circumstances unavoidable in their situation,—from anxiety, separation from their families, left unprotected in Philadelphia, then a besieged city liable at any time to be starved out or taken by assault; while from sickness and exposure during the winter season, in accommodations entirely unsuitable for them, two of their number departed this life in the month of March, 1778.

General sympathy had become excited on account of so large a number of respectable citizens having been sent away from their homes under no specific accusation, and the case became one of public concernment as it respected the rights of society at large.

In consequence of this, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania *had to yield to the sense of public feeling, and review their conduct,* and to remand the prisoners from the custody of Congress in order to have them brought back to the position from which they had been taken. And the following extract from the journals of Congress will show the immediate cause of the order given for their being returned to Pennsylvania.

"In Congress, Tuesday, 10 March, 1778.

"A letter was received from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, dated the 7th instant, in which it was stated—that the dangerous example which the longer continuance of the prisoners in banishment may afford on future occasions, has already given uneasiness to some good friends of the independence of these States; and if Congress has no other reason for continuing them in Virginia than the Council is acquainted with, that such orders may be given as will put those people again under the direction and custody of the President and Council of this State."

The House of Congress acceded at once to the application of the Supreme Executive Council respecting the prisoners, and passed a resolution on the 16th March, directing the Board of War to deliver "the prisoners of the State of Pennsylvania" to the order of the Supreme Executive Council, that they might be returned to Pennsylvania.

Many of the members of Congress had previously had interviews with Alexander White, Esquire, a gentleman of the highest respectability from the county of Fairfax, Virginia, to whose care the banished party had been committed by Colonel Joseph Holmes, the United States Commissary. Alexander White was afterwards a representative from the State of Virginia to Congress. In those interviews the members of Congress frequently declared that "the prisoners ought to have been at their homes, for their banishment had answered no valuable purpose whatever."

The long stay of the prisoners at Winchester, it is true, was palliated at times by the sympathy and kindness shown them; and from the effect produced by their exemplary conduct as gentlemen and citizens, their manners, education, and candour showed them to be persons entitled to respect, notwithstanding the prejudices and misrepresentations which had been excited against them.

On a fair exposition taking place respecting their peculiar

situation, they received the attention and esteem of the gentlemen residing at Winchester, and in the country around it; some of whom had previously visited them at their houses in Philadelphia.

The orders sent for their return to Pennsylvania, influenced by a more correct state of public feeling, contained expressions of personal respect even from the President and Supreme Executive Council which had sent them away.

By the order from Congress of 16th March, 1778, to the Board of War, the exiles were to be delivered to the order of the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and then, by an order of this Council, they were to be brought to Lancaster, to be discharged there.

In the directions of 10th April, 1778, to Francis Y. Bailey and Captain James Lang, who were appointed to escort them, the orders were as follows:

"It is reported that several of those gentlemen are in a low state of health and unfit to travel. If you find this to be the case, they must be left where they are, for the present. Those of them who are in health you are to bring with you, treating them on the road with that polite attention and care, which is due from men who act from the purest motives, to gentlemen whose stations in life entitle them to respect, however they may differ in political sentiments from those in whose power they are."

The party was conducted on the way homeward to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, from which place it was requisite that a special permission should be given to them to return to their homes in Philadelphia,—all intercourse with that city being interdicted, owing to its being in possession of the British forces, General Howe having taken possession of it soon after the Battle of Brandywine, and held it for his winter quarters till the campaign of the ensuing year.

For the purpose of interceding in behalf of the Friends, four of the female relatives of the company had left their homes at Philadelphia to visit General Washington, to whom they had

previously addressed a memorial, at his headquarters at Valley Forge, where he treated them with great kindness.

Letters were written by General Washington on the 5th and 6th April, to Thomas Wharton, junior, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and acting Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, for the desired permission—fac simile copies of which letters are given in this volume. One of them stated as follows:

"You will judge of the propriety of permitting them to proceed farther than Lancaster; but from appearances I imagine their request may be safely granted. They seem much distressed. Humanity pleads strongly in their behalf."

On the exiles arriving near General Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, they addressed him a letter asking him for a special permission to pass the American lines into Philadelphia, which he promptly granted to their messenger by his Secretary, Tench Tilghman, Esquire; and it was received and esteemed as a proof of his sense of justice. It was dated on the 29th April, 1778, when the party passed the American picket guard, whence Colonel Livingston permitted them to go on to their homes in Philadelphia.

During the further four or five years' continuance of the war, the exiles who were left of the company returned to their homes, and resided in the city of Philadelphia, then in possession of the British forces, till evacuated on the 17th June, 1778, when it was relinquished to the Americans,—the two armies having been alternately occupying and surrounding it for nearly a year.

During these changes, the Friends who had returned from banishment enjoyed unimpaired the confidence of their fellow-citizens—no political conduct being imputed to them; and on the organization of the General Government, they were engaged as before to sustain institutions of public utility, some of them to hold offices of trust and honour, and to serve in the Legislature of the State.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS RELATIVELY TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The preceding narrative renders it necessary to review the general conduct of the Society of Friends, and particularly so, in regard to the American Revolution; because as a religious and deliberative people, adverse to war, they withdrew from taking any part in the measures of the government, on the approach of a political contest in which they could not unite.

The Colonial Government of Pennsylvania had its origin with the emigration of the Friends from England; it had been formed and conducted very much according to their own views, and they enjoyed under it for a long period great respect, and shared in common with others, great prosperity and peace.

But at several times they had been aware of the unconstitutional attempts of Great Britain to tax the Colonies, and to control trade as well as to pass the Stamp Act; all of which had taken place in Parliament without any representation from the Colonies in regard to their legality, expediency, or effect.

On these laws reaching America they were found to be infringements of the colonial rights, and of the common rights of subjects of the realm, and they were highly offensive to the people. The Friends, therefore, with others, joined in making remonstrances against them, and they succeeded in obtaining their repeal by measures consistent with their principles.

It was then thought proper by the people of Pennsylvania, residing in and near Philadelphia, who were affected by these encroachments of Great Britain upon the rights of the Colonies, to join the citizens in a non-importation agreement, to prevent goods from being imported from England until the offensive acts were repealed. To that instrument, dated 25th October, 1765, the signatures of more than fifty members of the Society were placed, nine of which were of the Friends who were banished.

But there were several other measures taken by the Friends in favour of the principles of liberty to which they believed the American Colonies to be entitled. Among these it appears in Smith's History of New Jersey, "That no sooner were the Quakers settled in New Jersey, than an attempt was made by the Duke of York, who claimed the sovereignty there, to tax them, and this produced much discontent. Finally, about the year 1679, they made a manly intrepid remonstrance against the injustice of *taxation without representation*, stating that it is a fundamental law of the British constitution, that the King of England cannot take his subjects' goods without their consent; and they used nearly all the arguments which nearly one hundred years afterwards were deemed unanswerable." This tax was abated subsequently, and thus the first successful resistance to the conduct of the British government was made by the Friends, and it was in fact the first movement in the cause of American independence.

At the commencement of the Revolution, in common with other citizens, the Friends hoped that as the Stamp Act had been repealed in consequence of the remonstrances of America to the government of England, and some of the other measures revoked, the ministry would be eventually compelled to yield to the representations of some of her ablest politicians who interceded so warmly in favour of the rights of the Colonies, as the Earl of Chatham, Lord Camden, Edmund Burke, the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Barré, and others, and that the immense importance of preserving the allegiance of this part of the empire by keeping its interests united to her own would be made clearly manifest.

The repugnance of the Society of Friends to the hostile progress of the Revolution arose from their principles, and from their feelings of humanity, independently of any anticipation of its progress or result. They never had taken part in any national strife, and it would have been inconsistent for them to have entered with zeal as partisans where all other active

measures were incompatible with their religious principles. Having no ambitious or political expectancies, they only viewed the contest with anxiety, under a sincere hope that the hostile parties would seek the reconciliation which their mutual interests dictated.

This reluctance to war formed a peculiar characteristic of the Friends; but it was also justly applicable to many considerate Americans in power, and even in the army; and the following are among *many other evidences* to show that independently of the pacific principle, the confidence of the people and even of *some of the States* was more fully placed upon an amicable settlement of the differences than upon the prosecution of the war.

As the party of Friends who were returned from banishment passed homeward through York, Pennsylvania, on the 24th of April, 1778, they had a friendly conference with General Gates, who stated to them that resolutions had passed the British Parliament, proposing to repeal the several acts oppressive to America, and to appoint Commissioners to treat with the Americans, in order to settle the unhappy contest; with which resolutions he said he was much pleased, and thought that Great Britain had agreed to all the Americans had asked or contended for.

When the Representatives were appointed by the Colonies to form the first Congress, and met at Philadelphia, the 5th September, 1774, to consult upon measures expedient to be pursued, they proceeded only so far as to petition the King for a redress of grievances inflicted upon their colonial rights, by the several acts of Parliament relatively to the Tea Tax—to the act shutting up the port of Boston, and other similar measures, and then they dissolved on 26th October. They had recommended the appointment of another Congress, which was chosen afterwards, and met at Philadelphia, 10th May, 1775, and continued its sessions.

But these bodies, constantly relying on the adjustment of the differences, never expressed a desire to create an independent

government in the country notwithstanding the acts of warfare which had been committed by the British forces at the Battle of Lexington, on the 19th April, and Bunker's Hill, on the 17th June, 1775, and declarations of allegiance continued to be expressed in all their resolutions.

On the 6th July, the language of Congress was as follows:

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has been so long and so happily existing between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored."

There had been no representation sent from the Colony of Georgia to the first Congress appointed by the States to meet at Philadelphia on the 5th September, 1774, and that Colony did not send one to the second Congress, which met there on the 10th of May, 1775, until the 15th July.

The Declaration of Independence was under preparation in Congress for a considerable time; and though finally passed on the 4th of July, 1776, had been debated and deferred from the important consequences to result from its passage.

It had been referred to the decision of Congress from several of the states, but on its being moved there, on the 7th June, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams, it was agreed in Congress, that neither the name of the mover or seconder should be entered on the journal, and a committee of five members was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, in *case Congress should agree thereto.*

After the act had passed Congress, 4th July, 1776, it became necessary that the new measures attending it should make their way into the minds of the people, many of whom, though to be relied upon to sustain the rights of the country, would naturally have felt a caution in regard to its immediate effect and relatively to the time at which the people should be prepared to receive it.

The colony of New Jersey had no constitution nor charter

under its allegiance to the British government, but it was thought proper to make one about this time. This was under discussion by the representatives at Trenton during the time that Congress was debating upon the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, and when the Constitution of New Jersey was adopted and signed there on the 2d of July, 1776, only two days before the Declaration of Independence, there was inserted in it this remarkable condition :—

"Provided always that it is the true intent and meaning of this Congress, that if a reconciliation between Great Britain and these Colonies should take place, and the latter be again taken under the government and protection of Great Britain, this Charter shall be null and void, otherwise to remain, firm and inviolable."

If, therefore, a diversity of views were entertained among several of the states and governments, under a hope of a settlement of the difficulties, a cautious line of conduct should not have been considered censurable on the part of individuals.

The Friends especially, believing all warlike measures to be antichristian, *had never obeyed the injunctions of any government when they led to them.* In this respect they differed from other members of the community, who were willing to seek redress for national or personal injuries, by force or retaliation. On the other hand they never sought to attain their object by flattery, or by adulation to persons in power, as kings or rulers, for they prized too highly the rights of the people, and the duties owing by the rulers to their fellow-citizens, who were placed under their care *not for subjection* but *for protection.*

And while they felt themselves bound to treat kings and rulers with respect, they had frequently remonstrated, both in person and by letters, in very plain terms, to several of them, —to Oliver Cromwell, to King Charles II., to King James II., and others, upon their private and public conduct, when it was adverse to the liberty and interest of their country. And certainly, under the impending difficulties between America and England, caused by circumstances so justly to be complained

of, they could never have promoted such an address as was sent by Congress to the king immediately after the hostile acts with which the war had been commenced. Had they done this, they would have been amenable to a charge of flattery and insincerity, to which no part of their conduct had ever approached.

This address of the Congress of the United States of America to King George the Third, dated on the 8th of July, 1775, contains as follows:

"Attached as we are to your Majesty's person and government, with all the devotion which principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring any event which tends in any degree to weaken them, we do solemnly assure your Majesty that we do not only desire that the former happiness between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that such a concord may be established between us as to perpetuate its blessings, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity adorned with that signal and lasting glory, which has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame."

This flattering address to the king was a descent from the high standing theretofore assumed by the Congress of the nation. It was an attempt at policy, in appealing to the consideration of the king in whom they had no confidence, because they knew that ever since the treaty with France in 1763, when England obtained possession of the Canadas, and of America generally, the government had begun the oppressive measures of Colonial taxation, which were always attributed to the king and his ministry.

It was sent at the time the Colonists were suffering under a violation of their most important rights by an army occupying their country to compel their surrender, and also after the war commenced, in the spring and summer of that year, at the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill; which with other

aggressions they soon after embodied in the Declaration of Independence, in which they declared him, "a prince whose character is thus marked with every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be a ruler of a free people."

The Society of Friends, on the contrary, had persevered in a course to obtain the important objects of their civil and religious rights, by measures devoid both of flattery or offence; they had never made to the officers of government in England or America such expressions of "devotion or attachment," nor did they go beyond those professions of just and independent respect due to persons placed in power for the preservation of society.

Their addresses were made plainly to "The King" as holding that position in the government of their country; they were free from any of the *appellatives of dignity*, or any of the complimentary *forms of servility*, and on the occasions when they sought redress from the Parliament in regard to the religious rights due to them as subjects, or for their civil or colonial rights, it was by an intrepid and manly maintenance of their privileges, until that body became convinced of the justice of their demand.

On the 4th day of October, 1777, while the Friends remained in banishment in Virginia, a committee of six, which had been appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, visited the generals of both the contending armies, in order to explain to them the independent and impartial course their peaceable principles had required them to pursue.

These visits were made to General Howe and to General Washington, who received them very courteously at their respective headquarters. In these interviews they gave such explanations of the principles, and of the conduct of the Society, as were satisfactory, and removed from the minds of General Washington and his officers, who were assembled at camp, all impression of their having been concerned in the *Spanktown memorial*, or in any political interference which had been imputed to them, and published by order of Congress; and they

refuted other misrepresentations which had found their way into the public prints, and had caused prejudices against them, *on which the measures of Congress and of the Supreme Executive Council had been founded.*

On the conference being ended, a full confidence in the impartiality of the conduct of the Friends was expressed by each of the generals, and the committee was permitted to pass their respective military lines to return into the city of Philadelphia, then in possession of the British forces.

It is true that the Society had issued its advice to its members, to be faithful to their peaceable principles, and to keep out of all warlike measures; and this advice, consistent with the uniform conduct of the Society, was intended to repress any desire any of their members had to engage in the contest on either side. It had been urged impartially, and could have afforded no just ground of complaint against the Society from one of the contending parties more than from the other.

It is quite probable that the Society of Friends, under the kind course of treatment they were entitled to receive, and such as was extended to other respectable members of the community by the persons in power, would have manifested the same impressions as other citizens, regarding the independence of the country, and *its responsibilities to itself, and not to a foreign land.* But there had been a strong party prejudice created against them, arising from an idea of their being people of influence—from their former position in the government, as well as from the reserved and cautious conduct incident to their principles.

For in the tumult of the times the ardour of the revolutionary enthusiasm was opposed to deliberate reflection, and an idea prevailed that "he that is not for us is against us," instead of the more kind one, that "he that is not against us is for us;" and reason and reflection being too slow for popular feeling, the conservative views of the Society were neither consulted nor appreciated.

The liberal and independent principles of the Friends, with

their influence and judgment, would have answered many valuable purposes to the country, because they were much respected, and no persons had ever been more firm and consistent in sustaining the rights of the people.

In addition to the cases already stated, this appears in the published volumes of the votes and proceedings of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania, where the votes of the Friends who were members of that body are always to be found on the popular or liberal side. In the year 1742, when the election of members of Assembly was contested, the chief opposition was made by the members of the Society of Friends to the patronage, both of the Crown and the Proprietary.*

It was by the vigilance of this Society in Pennsylvania, and its interest with Friends in England, that Edmund Burke was returned to Parliament from the city of Bristol. As an advocate of the American cause, his celebrated speeches denounced the ministerial measures pursued in Massachusetts, which had caused the convention of the first Congress, and brought on the Revolutionary War.

The correspondence of the Friends in England with their friends in America shows the deep interest they took in preventing the hostile measures of the ministry, and towards producing a reconciliation. Dr. John Fothergill and David Barclay were among those who were particularly active, being entitled to make this interference as men of weight of character and great popularity. They assisted Dr. Franklin in England, and gave their opinion to the ministry firmly in favour of the rights of the Colonies, and of their claims made for redress.

It is true that the affinities of commercial and friendly intercourse which existed so largely between England and America, created relations which had been for a long time conducted to mutual advantage, and "which when long established should not be changed for light and transient causes;" but as it has been stated, when the non-importation agreement of 25th October, 1765, appeared necessary to pro-

* See the votes of Pennsylvania Assembly, appended to vol. iii.

duce a just and proper effect upon the government of England, it was united in by the Friends as generally as by others.

The justice and moderation with which the Colonial government of Pennsylvania had been conducted, showed the Friends to be philosophers in politics as well as in religion, and produced its good effect upon the principles and habits of the colonists. This, together with their just and amicable care of the Indian natives, became well known in Europe, and raised very highly the character of the province.

The connexion America had formed with France in order to aid the country through the war of the Revolution, caused many military officers, statesmen, and gentlemen of high standing from the continent of Europe, to be some time in this country. They became domesticated here; they had an acquaintance with a number of the Friends, and were much pleased with the intercourse they enjoyed among them.

It was, however, more particularly in the State of Pennsylvania, that these gentlemen were made sensible of the plain republican habits of domestic life, with the principles of government, and with the charitable establishments founded by private benevolence, and conducted without patronage, on a system of such general usefulness and order, as to exceed their highest expectations.

The progress of mankind in moral and social science is confessedly slow: it has been subject to the imperfections of human nature; and the peaceful and benignant principles of Christianity are liable to many interruptions from the agitations and conflicts of society.

Whether or not the practice of the principles advocated by the Society of Friends may continue to be maintained by themselves or by others, or are only to be handed down as the history of a past apostolic era, which had shed the promise of a better dispensation to the New World,—a future time will determine. The evidence and experience of these are now before us, in our recollections and traditions; the recorded volumes and testimonies of this age are extant, and though they may be left in

obscurity, contain a code of self-evident truths, the exposition of which has gone imperceptibly into society;—these truths have formed the basis of our social system—of our daily intercourse, and justify the integrity and simplicity of its character.

We see these principles in the institutions for which the State of Pennsylvania has been distinguished, for they were brought here with the Colonists. The toleration of religious liberty joined to the glory of forming an equal government for civil and religious rights, without discrimination of sects or professions, have their birthplace in Pennsylvania. The friendly care of the Indian natives,—of the poor,—the diseased,—and the aged,—the practice of temperance as a requisite to religious society,—the system for the employment and reformation of criminals,—of societies to do away with the injustice of slavery, and for the discouragement of war,—originating here, have been extended through the land, and are now becoming imitated through Europe. These are peculiarly due to the Society of Friends, which engrafted them into its discipline for the government of its members, for their intercourse with others, and which has persevered to bring them into adoption for the benefit of the community.

MEETING OF THE YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS AT PHILADELPHIA.

Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1777, 3d of 10th month. Afternoon.

James Thornton, on behalf of the Committee on Epistles, &c., reports—

That a weighty consideration hath been before them, respecting some Friends going, by appointment of this meeting, on a visit to William Howe, General of the British Army, and to George Washington, General of the American Army, and to take with them the testimony yesterday approved by this meeting; in which visits or opportunities they are to endeavour to lay before said generals, or any of their officers, or other people, the reason of publishing that testimony; and also, further to remonstrate on the behalf of our banished Friends, or proceed in other respects on behalf of truth and our religious society, as best wisdom may dictate and make way for them.

The subject being now weightily attended to, and the sentiments of many Friends expressed in approbation of such a concern and visit, the meeting nominates and approves for this purpose, William Brown, James Thornton, Nicholas Waln, Warner Mifflin, Joshua Morris, and Samuel Emlen, who are to make report to the Meeting for Sufferings, when they have performed the service.

A Testimony given forth from our Yearly Meeting, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by adjournments, from the 29th day of the 9th month to the 4th of the 10th month, inclusive, 1777.

A number of our friends having been imprisoned and banished, unheard, from their families, under a charge and insinuation that "they have in their general conduct and conversation

evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America;" and from some publications, intimating "that there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence highly prejudicial to the public safety," there may be induced a belief that we have in our conduct departed from the peaceable principles which we profess; and apprehending that the minds of some may thereby be misled, for the clearing up of truth, we think it necessary publicly to declare, that we are led out of all wars and fightings by the principle of grace and truth in our own minds, by which we are restrained, either as private members of society, or in any of our meetings, from holding a correspondence with either army; but are concerned to spread the testimony of truth and the peaceable doctrines of Christ, to seek the good of all, to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man, to promote the kingdom of the Messiah, which we pray may come, and be experienced in individuals, in kingdoms, and nations, that they may "beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and nation not lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more." (Isaiah, ii. 4.) And we deny, in general terms, all charges and insinuations which in any degree clash with this our profession.

As to a nameless paper lately published, said to be dated at Spanktown Yearly Meeting, and found among the baggage on Staten Island, every person who is acquainted with our style, may be convinced it was never written by any of our meetings, or by any of our friends. Besides, there is no meeting throughout our whole Society of that name, nor was that letter, or any one like it, ever written in any of our meetings since we were a people. We therefore solemnly deny the said letter, and wish that those who have assumed a fictitious character to write under, whether with a view to injure us or cover themselves, might find it their place to clear us of this charge, by stating the truth.

As from the knowledge we have of our banished friends,

and the best information we have been able to obtain, we are convinced they have done nothing to forfeit their just right to liberty, we fervently desire, that all those who have any hand in sending them into banishment, might weightily consider the tendency of their own conduct, and how contrary it is to the doctrines and example of our Lord and Lawgiver, Christ Jesus; and do them that justice which their case requires, by restoring them to their afflicted families and friends; and this, we are well assured, will conduce more to their peace, than keeping them in exile.

We give forth this admonition, in the fear of God, not only with a view to the relief of our friends, but also to the real interest of those concerned in their banishment.

Having been favoured to meet to transact the affairs of our religious society, which relate to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, we have felt a renewed concern for the good and happiness of mankind in general, and in the love of the Gospel, have issued forth this testimony, for the clearing ourselves and our friends, and the warning of those who, from groundless suspicions and mistaken notions concerning us, may be persuaded to seek our hurt, to the wounding of their own souls and the loss of the community.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting.

ISAAC JACKSON,
Clerk.

From the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, in 10th month, 1778.

REPORT.

We, the committee appointed by our last Yearly Meeting, to visit the generals of the two contending armies, on the second day of the week following our said meeting, proceeded to General Howe's headquarters, near Germantown, and had a seasonable opportunity of a conference with him, and deli-

vered him one of the testimonies issued by the Yearly Meeting, and then proceeded on our way to General Washington's camp, at which we arrived next day, without meeting with any interruption; and being conducted to headquarters, where the principal officers were assembled in council, after waiting some time, we were admitted and had a very full opportunity of clearing the Society from some aspersions which had been invidiously raised against them, and distributed a number of the testimonies amongst the officers, who received and read them, and made no objections.

We were much favoured and mercifully helped with the seasoning virtue of truth, and the presence of the Master was very sensibly felt, who made way for us beyond expectation, it being a critical and dangerous season. We may further add, that we were kindly entertained by General Washington and his officers; but, lest on our return we should be examined as to intelligence, we were desired to go to Pottsgrove for a few days, within which time such alterations might take place as to render our return less exceptionable to them; where we were accordingly sent, under the guard or care of a single officer, and hospitably entertained by Thomas Rutter, a very kind man, and others of our friends.

In this town we had some good service for the truth.

Two of the committee were discharged on sixth day afternoon, and the other four on seventh day, having been detained between three and four days. Two of the Friends, upon coming within the English lines, then near Vanderin's Mill, were stopped and questioned respecting intelligence about the Americans, which they declining to give, they were sent, under a guard, to the Hessian colonel who commanded at that post, and he proposed several questions respecting the American army, which the Friends declining to answer, he grew very angry, rough, and uncivil, using some harsh reflecting language, and ordered a guard to conduct them to the Hessian General, Knyphausen, who appeared more friendly. But he, not understanding the English language, sent them, under the

conduct of a lighthorseman or trooper, to General Howe's headquarters at Germantown; but upon the two Friends informing one of his aide-de-camps who they were, they were dismissed without being farther interrogated. So that no kind of intelligence was obtained from them, nor any departure from the language of the testimony they had delivered.

We believe the Lord's hand was in it, guarding us from improper compliances, and bringing us through this weighty service, though it was a time of close humbling baptism.

As to the charge respecting the intelligence said to have been given from Spanktown Yearly Meeting, we believe General Washington, and all the officers then present, being a pretty many, were fully satisfied as to Friends' clearness; and we hope and believe, through the Lord's blessing, the opportunity we had was useful many ways; there having been great openness and many observations upon various subjects, to edification, and tending to remove and clear up some prejudices which had been imbibed.

Signed, Samuel Emlen,
William Brown,
Joshua Morris,
James Thornton,
Warner Mifflin,
Nicholas Waln.

The following paper, purporting to have originated from the Society of Friends, was directed by Congress to be published in Philadelphia.

Extract of a letter from General Sullivan to Congress, dated Hanover, (near Newark, New Jersey,) 25 August, 1777.

"Among baggage taken on Staten Island, the 22d instant, I find a number of important papers. A copy of three I enclose for the perusal of Congress. The one of the Yearly Meeting of

Spanktown, held the 19th instant, I think worthy the attention of Congress.

"No. 1. Where is Washington? what number of men or cannon?
2. Where is Sterling? what number of men or cannon?
3. Where is Sullivan? &c.
4. Where is Dayton and Ogden? what number?
5. Whether there be any troops passing or repassing?
6. Intelligence from Albany.
7. Intelligence from Philadelphia.
8. Be very particular about time and place."

"Information from Jersey, 19 August, 1777.

"It is said General Howe landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay, but cannot learn the particular spot or when.

"Washington lays in Pennsylvania, about 12 miles from Coryell's Ferry.

"Sullivan lays about six miles north of Morristown, with about two thousand men.

"SPANKTOWN YEARLY MEETING."

"Intelligence from Jersey, Sunday, July 28, 1777.

"I saw on their full march, about seven miles from Morristown, on the road to Delaware, General Washington, General Muhlenburg, General Weeden, with four thousand men, and General Knox with his train of artillery, consisting of fourteen field pieces, and one howitz, seventy-nine ammunition wagons, and one hundred and thirty baggage wagons; and then proceeding on their road from Hackettstown to Easton, there saw on their full march to Delaware, General Stevens and General Scott, with four thousand men, and light field pieces, and on the road met twenty-nine flat-bottomed boats, and proceeded down to Quibbletown, where I saw General Sullivan and General Conway, with three thousand men and no field pieces.

"I am informed that General Sullivan has crossed the North

River, and is bringing up the rear. As to the truth of that I hope I shall be able to inform you in two or three days."

Received August 31, 1777.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

The above publication may be found at the Philadelphia Library in Folio 384, Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, No. 304, Philadelphia, Tuesday, 9 September, 1777; and in the Supplement; and also in the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 2533, Philadelphia, Wednesday, 10 September, 1777.

Philad.a the 31.st of the 2.d Mo: 1778

Esteemed Friend

The Preping necesity of an Application to thee when Perhaps thy other Engagements of Importance may by it be Interrupted, I hope will Plead my excuse. It is in behalf of my self, and the rest of the Suffering and Afflicted Parents, Wives and neare Connections of our beloved Husbands now in Banishment at Winchester, what adds to our Distress in this sorrowfull Circumstance is the Acc.t we have lately Received of the Removal of one of them by Death, and that divers of them are much Indis-posed, and as we find they are in want of necessarys Proper for Sick People we desire the Favour of General Washington to grant a Protection for One or More Waggons, and for the Persons we may Employ to go with them. In order That they may be accommodated with what is suitable, for which we shall be much Obliged to him. sign'd in behalf of the whole by

Mary Pemberton

To

General Washington

Original in the Office of Public Documents Harrisburg Penn.a 1855.

Philad.a the 31st of the 8th Mo. 1778

Esteemed Friend

The Pressing necessity of an Application to thee when Perhaps thy other Engagements of Importance may by it be Interrupted, I hope will Plead my excuse. It is in behalf of my self, and the rest of the Suffering and Afflicted Parents, Wives and near Connections of our Beloved Husbands now in Banishment at Winchester, what adds to our Distress in this sorrowfull Circumstance is the Acct we have Lately received of the Removal of one of them by Death, and that divers of them are much Indisposed, and as we find they are in want of necessarys Proper for Sick People we desire the Favour of General Washington to grant a Protection for One or More Waggons, and for the Persons we may Employ to go with them In Order That they may be accommodated with what is suitable, for which we shall be much Obliged to him. signd in behalf of the whole by

Mary Pemberton

To

General Washington

Original in the Office of Public Document. Harrisburg Penn.a 1848.

Head Quarters Valley Forge April 5. 1778

Sir,

I take the liberty to inclose you a letter from Mrs Mary Pemberton, requesting a passport for some waggons to be sent out with articles for the use of her husband and others, now in confinement. As the persons concerned are prisoners of the State, I did not think proper to comply with her request. — I have assured her, that I would transmit her letter to you, and did not doubt, but her application would meet with your ready concurrence. If you will be pleased to send the passport required to me — I will convey it by a flagg. The letter mentions one or more waggons — I dare say you will extend the indulgence as far as may be requisite and consistent with propriety.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most Obed.t Servant

G. Washington

His Excellency

Governor Wharton

Lancaster

Original in the Office of Public Documents Harrisburg Penn.a 1848

on public service

JOURNAL

AND

TRANSACTIONS OF THE EXILES,

CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA,

SENT TO WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA.

From 2d September, 1777, to 30th April, 1778.

EXILE OF FRIENDS FROM PHILADELPHIA TO VIRGINIA.

Philadelphia, 9th month, (September,) 1777.

A REPORT had for some weeks prevailed that lists of a great number of persons were made out, with an intent shortly to apprehend and confine them; but for what cause was a profound secret. Several who had the confidence of some of the leading men had seen the lists, and from what they could discover in conversation, it was understood that four or five hundred of the respectable inhabitants were to be secured and sent out of the city.

A number of persons professing great attachment to the cause of liberty, undertook the arduous office of executing the arbitrary mandates of the President and Council, and called at our houses, demanding of most of us to sign a paper, conceived in the following terms.

"I, do promise not to depart from my dwelling-house, and to be ready to appear on demand of the President and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, and do engage to refrain from doing any thing injurious to the United States of North America, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the Commander of the British forces, or any person whatever concerning public affairs."

Several of us, on seeing the paper to be subscribed, replied

that except going out of our houses as our various occasions of business had required, we had not infringed at any time upon the requisition demanded; but we could not agree to give up that privilege; on which we were told we must go before the President and Council.

Some of us were taken to the Masons' Lodge under a promise of being heard by the Council, who was said to be sitting there; but this was found to be a deception, as they were immediately put under a strong guard and a hearing denied them. Some were brought there without the offer of becoming prisoners in their own houses, but the greater part were treated in the following manner, with some inconsiderable variations.

Upon reading the paper, we demanded to know upon what authority they acted—and were answered, *By virtue of a resolution of Congress*, and by *orders of Council*. We demanded to see their written orders, which was in general absolutely refused. To some few, who were more pressing, part of a warrant was read; but not one of us was suffered to read or copy the original. We remonstrated against so arbitrary a proceeding, and endeavoured to convince them that signing such a paper would be an acknowledgment of guilt, and would subject us to be removed at an hour's warning without knowing the charge against us; and after laying before them the iniquity of the measure, we refused to become voluntary prisoners for supposed offences, because we knew ourselves innocent of any.

Some of the persons asserted they had undertaken the business against their inclination, to prevent it being executed by military officers, who would have used more rigour; but this appeared to be only to excuse themselves to us. They refused us a reasonable time to prepare for confinement, and in some instances brought a military force to intimidate us; they entered the houses of John Hunt, John Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Edward Pennington, and William Smith, (broker,) broke their desks, searched them, and carried off private papers, and some printed books, under colour of orders for that purpose, which they would not show. The order of time we

were apprehended and confined in the Lodge, by persons appointed, is as follows:

1777, 9th month, 2d.—William Druit Smith, Thomas Affleck, Thomas Gilpin, William Lenox, Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Samuel Rowland Fisher, William Inlay, James Pemberton, Miers Fisher, Thomas Fisher, Thomas Wharton, Edward Pennington, John Pemberton, Owen Jones, Jr., Charles Eddy, Joseph Fox, Thomas Combe, Jr., William Smith, (broker.)

1777, 9th month, 3d.—Henry Drinker, Charles Jervis, John Galloway, William Hollingshead, E. Ayres, Phineas Bond, Thomas Pike.

1777, 9th month, 4th.—John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants.

The above three were first called on, then taken by a particular order of Council, and committed.—N. B. Two of the officers were active in breaking the desk of John Hunt, and searching his papers.

9th month, 5th—Elijah Brown.

9th month, 2d, continued.—The guards set over us refused for some time to suffer any persons to come to us, telling us their orders were to admit no persons whatever; towards evening, however, they relaxed from this strictness, and admitted most of our friends who applied. About ten o'clock, being supplied with bedding, we lay down and slept in general very well.

9th month, 3d.—After breakfast we were called upon by a number of our friends, several of whom were refused admittance. Some of us conversing through the windows, were ordered by the guards to desist, and one of them presented his gun, cocked, and threatened to fire. This brought on a conference with Lewis Nicola; after which our friends who applied, were admitted to a considerable number. Ten o'clock, Henry Drinker, and Charles Jervis, were added to our society.

Lewis Nicola, the town major, having informed us that he had not the command of the guards, or any thing to do with

our confinement, save that he was ordered by the President and Council to furnish William Bradford with a guard for the purpose, which he had accordingly done, but had nothing further in charge, we therefore, this morning took the opportunity as Mr. William Bradford passed the door of our chamber, to represent to him the misbehaviour of some of the guard, who we apprehended were under his command, when he assured us that he had nothing to do with them, nor would he have any charge over us. We desired to know of him by what authority we were confined, upon which he produced a warrant signed by George Bryan, Vice-President of the Council, setting forth a recommendation of Congress to take up and confine a number of persons by name, and all others who by their general conduct had shown themselves to be inimical to the United States, &c., which he read to us. We acquainted him that we desired to be heard in our defence, and demanded a copy of the warrant, which he said he would procure for us upon our offering to take a copy and return him the original. He repeated his promise, saying he would copy it himself, and certify it to be a true copy.

William Bradford was here again about one o'clock, and told us that he had just come from Council, to whom he represented the complaints against the guards,—our desire of a copy of the warrant, and a hearing. They informed him that as a number of persons named were not yet taken, it would be improper now to give a copy; but we should have it as soon as that was done. That they would give Lewis Nicola written orders relative to the guard; and as the Council was in conference with some members of Congress, it was probable we should have a hearing.

Between three and four o'clock, Benjamin Paschall, accompanied by Edward Middleton, entered our chamber and addressing himself to Wm. Smith, (broker,) said, "I am come as a magistrate of this city to know what you are confined here for." To which he was answered, "We are waiting to know that ourselves. We were sent here and detained by a military force, in opposition, and in direct violation of the civil autho-

rity, and our cause is the cause of every freeman in Pennsylvania. That Lewis Nicola, town major, and William Bradford, colonel, had both declared they had no charge to keep us in confinement." "Who, then, does confine you?" We answered, "We know not, nor on what account we are confined, but are told it is in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress and a resolve of the Council, signed by George Bryan, Vice-President—the President himself having denied he had any thing to do with it." He then asked if we had had a hearing, to which he was answered, "No!" He then said if we did not know what we were confined for it was his business, as a magistrate, to see and inquire about it. Between four and five o'clock, Benjamin Paschall and Edward Middleton returned, and informed us they had been to seek some of the great men, but could find none but Vice-President Bryan, who told them we were to be sent to Virginia, without a hearing! At this extraordinary message we were astounded, and expressed, in proper terms, our sentiments upon so unheard of a stretch of arbitrary power. Benjamin Paschall and his companion seemed shocked at the idea, and after a discourse of some length, they concluded it was a case of so alarming a nature, that the citizens should interest themselves in it. He said he would confer with his brethren of the Bench, and do every thing in his power to avert a blow so fatal to the liberties of Pennsylvania. Edward Middleton said to one of the company upon leaving the room, "You shall not go yet;" and so they left us.

At eight o'clock, Phineas Bond was brought by Lewis Nicola into the room as a prisoner. He informed us he had been induced to accept of the parole, when offered to him, but for reasons which he gave us, he had surrendered it, and voluntarily accepted of a place of confinement with us. Thomas Pike, who had also given his parole and surrendered to us, was also added to our number.

Philadelphia, 4th of 9th month, 1777.

This morning, taking our situation into consideration, we thought it expedient to urge William Bradford to furnish us

with a copy of the warrant against us; and the following letter was read, approved, and signed, and Samuel Coates and Thomas Eddy undertook to deliver it.

Masons' Lodge, 4th of 9th month, 1777.

Friend William Bradford,—

When men are deprived of their liberty, it is their indisputable right to demand of the persons who confine them, a copy of the warrant under which they act. This demand was made of the persons by whom we were arrested, by divers of us who were absolutely refused it. The extraordinary mode of conducting this business, prevented our knowing to whom we were to apply to procure a copy, till yesterday thou produced a copy of what we apprehended was the original. We then demanded a transcript, which thou promised to furnish us with, properly certified. At the second interview, thou made an objection: that, as a number of persons named in it had not been taken, it would be improper to expose their names, but as soon as that should take place thou would give us a copy.

As we are conscious of innocence, and it will be difficult to attempt any thing for our relief without, we now repeat our demand, and in order to obviate thy objection, we consent that the names of those who have not been arrested be omitted in the copy to be furnished us.

To this demand we apprehend no reasonable objection can be made, and therefore expect a speedy compliance, and are thy friends,

John Pemberton.
James Pemberton.
William Smith, (broker.)
Charles Jervis.
Miers Fisher.
Thomas Affleck.
Thomas Pike.
Edward Pennington.
Thomas Gilpin.
Thomas Combe.
Charles Eddy.
Owen Jones, jun.
Henry Drinker.
Thomas Fisher.
Thomas Wharton.
Samuel R. Fisher.
William D. Smith.

Samuel Coates and Charles Eddy soon returned and informed us they had delivered our letter to William Bradford, who said he would go immediately to the Council, and call upon us with an answer. James Pemberton, Edward Pennington, Thomas Wharton, Henry Drinker, Thomas Combe, and Miers Fisher, were desired to consider of such further measures as would be most likely to procure relief for us, and to prepare an essay of a remonstrance, if they should think it a proper mode of application to any of the present powers. At 11 o'clock, William Bradford called and informed us that a copy of the warrant was preparing and should be delivered as soon as it was finished, which being done soon after, is as follows:

IN COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, August 31, 1777.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States of North America, have by their resolve of the 28th instant, August, recommended to the executive powers of the several States, to apprehend and secure all persons, who have in their general conduct and conversation evinced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, particularly, Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen., Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher, (sons of Joshua,) together with all papers in their possession which may be of a political nature, and that the persons so seized be confined in such places, and treated in such manner as may be consistent with their respective characters, and the securities of their persons, and that the records and papers of the Meeting of Sufferings of the Society of the people called Quakers, in the several States, be forthwith secured, and such parts of them as may be of a political nature, be forthwith transmitted to Congress. And whereas, it is necessary for the public safety at this time, when a British army has landed in Maryland, with a professed

design of enslaving this free country, and is now advancing toward this city, as a principal object of hostility, that such dangerous persons be accordingly secured, therefore, resolved, that a suitable number of friends to the public cause, be authorized forthwith to seize and secure the persons of the said

*Joshua Fisher,
*Thomas Wharton, sen.,
*Henry Drinker,
John James,
*Miers Fisher,
*Adam Kuhn, M. D.,
*George Roberts,
*Rev. Thomas Combe,
*Charles Jervis,
*Samuel Pleasants,
*James Pemberton,
*John Pemberton,
*Israel Pemberton,
*Samuel Emlen, jun.,
*Hugh Roberts,
*William Smith, D. D.,
*John Hunt,
*Samuel Murdock,
*Abel James,
Elijah Brown,
*Phineas Bond,
*Thomas Fisher, son of Joshua,
*Samuel Fisher, son of Joshua,
*Joseph Fox,
*Samuel Shoemaker,
William Druit Smith.
Alexander Stedman,
Charles Stedman, jun.,
*Owen Jones, jun.,
William Lennox,
*Caleb Emlen,
*Charles Eddy,
*Thomas Pike,
*Thomas Ashton, merchant,
*Samuel Jackson,
William Smith, broker,
William Inlay,
*Jeremiah Warden,
*Thomas Gilpin,
*Edward Pennington,
*Thomas Affleck.

Resolved, That the following instructions be also given:

Early attention should be paid to John Hunt, who lives on the Germantown Road, about five miles from the city, and to John Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, and other leaders in the Society of Quakers, concerning books and papers; as to the rest, your own prudence will direct.

Congress recommends it, and we wish to treat men of repu-

tation with as much tenderness as the security of their persons and papers will admit. We desire, therefore, that if the persons whose names in the list are marked with a cross thus × offer to you by promise in writing to remain in their dwellings ready to appear on demand of Council, and meanwhile to refrain from doing any thing inimical to the United States of North America, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the Commander-in-chief of the British forces, or any other person whatever concerning public affairs, you dismiss them from further confinement of their persons. But if such engagement, or a promise equivalent thereto, cannot be obtained, we desire that in such case you confine the refusers, together with the others to whose names the said mark is not affixed, in some convenient place, under a guard, with which the town major, Colonel Nicola, will supply you. The Freemasons' Lodge may perhaps be procured. It would serve as well as any other place for the purpose. You may perceive that Council would not without necessity commit many of the persons to the common jail or even to the state prison.

Resolved, That the following be appointed and authorized to carry into execution the resolve of yesterday respecting the arresting such persons as are deemed inimical to the cause of American liberty, viz.:

William Bradford,	Lazarus Pine,
William Carson,	James Claypole,
Sharpe Delany,	Captain Burney,
William Heysham,	William Graham,
John Downey,	James Kerr,
John Purviance,	William Hardy,
John Galloway,	William Sharpe,
Joseph Blower,	Charles Wilson Peale,
John Lisle,	Captain M'Cullock,
Paul Coxe,	Nathaniel Donnell,
James Loughead,	Robert Smith,

Adam Kimmel, Thomas Bradford,
Jacob Cannon,
together with such persons as they shall call to their assistance.

George Bryan, Vice-President.

The power of search must necessarily extend to the opening of locks.

George Bryan, Vice-President.

A true copy.

William Bradford.

12 o'clock. John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, and Samuel Pleasants, were brought to our apartment as fellow-prisoners. They informed us they had been arrested by virtue of the general warrant, but having refused to consider themselves prisoners, until a copy was granted them, they were suffered to continue at large until 11 o'clock to-day; that in the mean time they had prepared a remonstrance to the Council against their arbitrary proceedings, with which they, together with their counsel, attended at the State House, and after repeated messages passing between them and the Council, through Timothy Matlack, their Secretary, they were finally refused a hearing, either by themselves or their counsel, upon which they were arrested and conducted to us by Lewis Nicola. The copy of the Warrant with the Remonstrance is as follows, viz.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance of Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, sheweth:

That Lewis Nicola is about to deprive us of our liberty, by an order from you, of which the following is a copy.

"In Council, September 3d, 1777.

"Ordered, that Colonel Nicola, town major, do take a proper guard and seize Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel

Pleasants, and conduct them to the Freemasons' Lodge, and there confine them under guard till further orders."

We are advised, and from our own knowledge of our rights and privileges as freemen are assured, that your issuing this order is *arbitrary*, *unjust*, and *illegal*, and therefore we believe it is our duty, in clear and express terms, to remonstrate against it.

The order appears to be *arbitrary*, as you have assumed an authority not founded on law or reason, to deprive us, who are peaceable men, and have never borne arms, of our liberty, by a military force, when you might have directed a legal course of proceeding. *Unjust*, as we have not attempted, nor are charged with any act inconsistent with the character we have steadily maintained as good citizens, solicitous to promote the real interest of our country. And that it is *illegal*, is evident from the perusal and consideration of the constitution of the government from which you derive all your authority and power.

We therefore claim our undoubted right as freemen, having a just sense of the inestimable value of religious and civil liberty, to be heard, before we are confined in the manner directed by said order; and we have the more urgent cause for insisting on this our right, as several of our fellow-citizens have been some days, and now are confined by your order, and no opportunity is offered them to be heard; and we have been informed that it is your purpose to send them and us into a distant part of the country, even beyond the limit of the jurisdiction you claim, and where the recourse we are justly entitled to, of being heard or clearing ourselves from any charge or suspicions you may entertain against us *will be impracticable.*

We fervently desire you may be so wise as to attend to the dictates of truth and justice in your minds, and observe the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom you profess to believe in. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do you even so to them," (see Matthew vii. 12,) and then we have no doubt you will comply with this just claim we

make, which will be duly acknowledged by your real friends and well-wishers.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON,
JOHN HUNT,
SAMUEL PLEASANTS.

Philadelphia, 4th of 9th month, 1777.

The committee for that purpose appointed, reported an essay of a remonstrance to Council, which being read, and considered, was agreed to, and a fair copy, signed by twenty of us, was delivered to James Craig, John Reynell, and Owen Jones, who undertook to present it. They returned some time after, and informed us they had met with the President (the Council being broke up), and delivered it to him; that he read it, appeared to be somewhat affected with our situation, but blamed us for not accepting the terms of the parole and then remonstrating; he promised, however, to lay it before the Council, and gave them expectation he would send us an answer by ten o'clock to-morrow.

Having received information from Isaac Melchoir, that he was ordered to procure wagons for our removal to Virginia, on seventh day next, we thought it prudent to acquaint our fellow-citizens with the hardships we were likely to suffer, and to publish in a handbill some copies of the remonstrance of our friends, John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, and Samuel Pleasants, which Robert Bell undertook to print.

Eight o'clock. Wm. Bradford laid before us a letter he received from Timothy Matlack, Secretary to the Council, informing us of our intended removal to Virginia, and the time proposed. This daring insult on our liberties, after refusing to hear us, we thought should not be concealed from the people. We therefore desired Robert Bell to add to it a short preface to the handbill containing the remonstrance above mentioned.

Considering the unprecedented strides Council was making in the total abolition of every species of liberty, and that if they were not checked in this outrageous attempt, they might

proceed to the greatest extremities in the wanton exercise of their power, even to the evacuation and destruction of the city, and as no time was to be lost, we concluded to furnish Robert Bell with a copy of our remonstrances of this day, which he promised to print, so as to disperse a number of them through the town by to-morrow noon.

But, after the remonstrance was written, and previously to its being published, William Bradford came, and read us a letter to him, of which the following is a copy.

Sir,

Council have resolved to send the prisoners now confined in the Freemasons' Lodge, to Staunton, in the county of Augusta, in the state of Virginia, there to be secured and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters, and the security of their persons; which you are requested to communicate to them, and inform them that carriages will be provided for their accommodation on the journey, unless they choose to provide themselves therewith. It is proposed they go off on Saturday morning next.

I am, with great respect,
Your humble servant,
Timothy Matlack,
For Col. Wm. Bradford. Secretary.

Thursday, Sept. 4th, 1777.

The above is a true copy of the letter I received this evening from Timothy Matlack.

William Bradford.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, freemen and inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, now confined in the Freemasons' Lodge, sheweth:

That the subscribers have been by virtue of a warrant signed in council, by Geo. Bryan, Vice-President, arrested in

our houses, and on our lawful occasions, and conducted to this place, where we have been kept in close confinement, under a strong military guard, two or more days, and although divers of us demanded of the messengers who arrested us, and insisted on having copies of the said warrant, yet we were not able to procure the same until this morning, but have remained here *unaccused* and *unheard.*

We now take the earliest opportunity of laying our grievances before your body from whom we apprehend they proceed, and of claiming to ourselves the liberties and privileges to which we are entitled, by the fundamental rules of justice, by our birthright and inheritance, by the laws of the land, and by the express provision of the present constitution, under which your board derives its power.

We apprehend that no man can be lawfully deprived of his liberty without a warrant from some persons having competent authority, specifying an offence against the laws of the land, supported by oath or affirmation of the accusers, and limiting the time of his imprisonment, until he is heard, or legally discharged, unless the party be found in the actual perpetration of a crime. Natural justice, equally with law, declares that the party accused should know what he is to answer to, and have an opportunity of showing his innocence. These principles are strongly enforced in the ninth and tenth sections of the Declaration of Rights, which form a fundamental and inviolable part of the Constitution from which you derive your power, wherein it is declared.

"IX.—That in all prosecutions for criminal offences, a man hath a right to be heard by himself and counsel, and to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the country, without the unanimous consent of which he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor can any man be justly deprived of his liberty except by the laws of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

"X.—That the people have a just right to hold themselves, their houses and possessions, free from search or seizure, and therefore warrants without oath or affirmation first made, affording a sufficient foundation for them, and whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspicious places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted."

How far these principles have been adhered to in the course of this business, we shall go on to show.

Upon the examination of the said warrant, we find it is in all respects inadequate to these descriptions; altogether unprecedented in this or any free country, both in its substance and the latitude given to the messengers who were to execute it, and wholly subversive of the very constitution you profess to support. The only charge on which it is founded, is a recommendation of Congress to apprehend and secure all persons who in their general conduct and conversation have evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, and particularly naming some of us; but not suggesting the least offence to have been committed by us.

It authorizes the messengers to search all papers belonging to us, upon a bare possibility that something political may be found, but without the least ground for a suspicion of the kind.

It requires papers relative to the sufferings of the people called Quakers to be seized, without limiting the search to any house or number of houses, under colour of which every house in the city might be broken open.

To persons whom the Congress have thought proper to select, the warrant adds a number of the inhabitants of the city, of whom some of us are a part; without the least insinuation that they are within the description given by the Congress in their recommendation.

It directs all these matters to be executed (though of the highest importance to the liberties of the people), at the discretion of a set of men who are under no qualification for the

due exercise of the office, and are unaccustomed to the forms of executing civil process, from whence, probably, have proceeded the excesses and irregularities committed by some of them, in divers instances, by refusing to give copies of the process to the parties interested; by denying some of us a reasonable time to consider of answers, and prepare for confinement. In the absence of others, by breaking our desks and other private repositories, and by ransacking and carrying off all domestic papers, printed books, and other matters not within the terms of the warrant. It limits no time for the duration of our imprisonment, nor points out any hearing, which is absolutely requisite to make a legal warrant, but confounds in one warrant the power to apprehend and the authority to commit, without interposing a judicial officer between the parties and the messenger.

Upon the whole, we consider this warrant and the proceeding thereon, to be far more dangerous in its tendency, and a more flagrant violation of every right which is dear to freemen, than any act which is to be found in the records of the English Constitution.

But, when we consider the use to which this general warrant has been applied, and the persons upon whom it has been executed, (who challenge the world to charge them with offence,) it becomes of too great magnitude to be considered the cause of the few. It is the cause of every inhabitant, and may, if permitted to pass into a precedent, establish a system of arbitrary power, unknown but in the Inquisition, or the despotic courts of the East.

What adds further to the alarming stretch of power is, that we are informed that the Vice-President of the Council has declared to one of the magistrates of the city, who called on him to inquire the cause of our confinement, that we were to be *sent to Virginia unheard.*

Scarcely could we believe such a declaration could have been made by a person who fills the second place in the government, till we were this day confirmed in the melancholy truth

by three of the subscribers, whom you absolutely refused to hear in person or by counsel. We would remind you of complaints urged by numbers of yourselves against the Parliament of Great Britain, for condemning the town of Boston *unheard*, and we will call upon you to reconcile your present conduct with your then professions or repeated declarations in favour of general liberty.

In the name, therefore, of the whole body of the freemen of Pennsylvania, whose liberties are radically struck at, by this arbitrary imprisonment of us, their unoffending fellow-citizens, we demand an audience, that so our innocence may appear and persecution give place to justice.

But, if regardless of every sacred obligation by which men are bound to each other in society, and by that constitution by which you profess to govern, which you have so loudly magnified for the free spirit it breathes, you are still determined to proceed, be the appeal to the Righteous Judge of all the earth, for the integrity of our hearts and the unparalleled tyranny of your measures.

James Pemberton,	Thomas Affleck,
Thomas Wharton,	Charles Jervis,
Edward Pennington,	William Smith, (broker,)
Henry Drinker,	William Druit Smith,
Phineas Bond,	Thomas Fisher,
Thomas Gilpin,	Miers Fisher,
Thomas Combe,	Charles Eddy,
John Pemberton,	Israel Pemberton,
Thomas Pike,	John Hunt,
Owen Jones, jun.,	Samuel Pleasants.

Masons' Lodge, Philadelphia, September 4, 1777.

The guards, for these two days past, have behaved with complaisance, admitting every person who called to see us without distinction, which occasioned a great resort of company of the most respectable fellow-citizens, who were per-

mitted to go in and out of the house without attendants, and several of our company to their homes for a short time.

9th month, 5th.—This day, those who were named to make an address to Congress, took into consideration the propriety of remonstrating to them the demand to be heard; and accordingly prepared a remonstrance, which they signed, and then laid it before us, giving us our choice to join with them therein, by adding a paragraph at the foot, adapted to our case, which we thought unnecessary; whereupon, it was presented by John Reynell and Owen Jones; being as follows, viz.:

TO THE CONGRESS.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of Philadelphia, sheweth:

That we are confined now by a military guard, having been arrested and deprived of our liberty, by order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, in consequence of a resolve made by you on the twenty-eighth day of last month, "Recommending to the executive powers of the several States, to apprehend and secure all persons who have in their general conduct and conversation evinced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, and particularly naming the subscribers, together with all such papers in our possession as may be of a political nature." The copy of which resolve we could not obtain till yesterday afternoon.

Conscious of our innocence and that we have given no just occasion to have our characters thus traduced and injuriously treated, we have remonstrated to the said President and Council, against their arbitrary, unjust, and illegal proceeding against us, and demanded our undoubted right of being heard by them, knowing we can manifest the falsehood and injustice of any injurious charge or suspicion they or you may entertain concerning us; but we are denied the opportunity of such a hearing, and were last evening informed, by their order, that they have resolved to send us to Staunton, in the county of

Augusta, in Virginia, and we are now told that place is appointed by you for our confinement.

We, therefore, by our love to our country, whose true interest and prosperity we have steadily pursued through the course of our conduct and conversation, and in justice to our characters as freemen and Christians, with that freedom and resolution which influences men conscious of being void of just cause of offence, are bound to remonstrate against your arbitrary, unjust, and cruel treatment of us, our characters, and families, and against the course of proceedings you have chosen and prescribed, by which the liberty, property, and character, of every freeman in America, is or may be endangered.

Most of you are not personally known to us, nor are we to you. Few of you have had the opportunity of conversing with any of us, or of knowing any thing more of our conduct and conversation than what you have received from others; and thus we are subjected to the unjust suspicions you have entertained, from the uncertain reports of our adversaries, and are condemned unheard, to be deprived of our most endearing connexions and temporal enjoyments, when our personal care of them is most immediately necessary.

We are therefore engaged in the most solemn manner to call upon you, and entreat you to reconsider well upon the course of your proceedings respecting us, and either by yourselves, or the said President and Council, to give us the opportunity of a hearing, and answering every matter suggested to, and entertained by you or them against us; being assured we shall appear to be true friends to, and to be anxiously solicitous for the prosperity of America, upon the principles of justice and liberty; and though we are clearly convinced, from the precepts of Christ, the doctrines of his Apostles, and the example of his followers, in the primitive ages of Christianity, that all outward wars and fightings are unlawful, and therefore, cannot join therein for any cause whatever, we cannot but remind you that we are by the same principle restrained from pursuing any measures inconsistent with the Apostles' advice, "to live

peaceably with all men," under whatever power it is our lot to live, which rule of conduct we are determined to observe whatever you or any others may determine concerning us.

Your characters, in the conspicuous station you stand, and the due regard to the liberties, properties, and even lives, of those whoever may be afflicted by the course of your proceedings, so loudly proclaim the justice of our *demands* for a hearing, that if more time remained for it, we judge further reasoning unnecessary, beseeching you to remember that we are all to appear before the tribunal of Divine Justice, there to render an account of our actions, and receive a reward according as our works have been, and we sincerely desire for you, as we do for ourselves, that we may all so direct our course, that we may at that tribunal receive the answer of "well done," and enjoy the reward of eternal peace and happiness.

Israel Pemberton,	Henry Drinker,
James Pemberton,	Thomas Fisher,
John Pemberton,	Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Wharton,	Samuel R. Fisher.

Philadelphia, 5th day of 9th month, 1777.

At noon. Elijah Brown was brought here a prisoner by virtue of a general warrant.

On conferring together, it was thought necessary to lay a state of our case before the people, who are equally interested with us in the struggle. Thomas Wharton, Phineas Bond, and Miers Fisher, are appointed a committee to prepare an essay.

At seven o'clock, P. M., William Bradford delivered us the following letter he had received from Timothy Matlack, which being read was taken into consideration, and it appearing to be intended as an evasion of giving us a hearing by proposing tests, Thomas Wharton and Miers Fisher were appointed a committee to prepare an essay of another remonstrance to the President and Council on the subject.

The following letter of Timothy Matlack to William Brad-

ford, we suppose to be an answer of Council to our second remonstrance of September 4th, 1777.

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1777.

Sir,

A remonstrance signed by the gentlemen confined in the Masons' Lodge, having been presented to Council and read, the Council took the same into consideration, and asked the advice of Congress thereupon, which being received, the Council thereupon passed the following resolve, which we beg the favour of you to communicate to the aforesaid gentlemen.

In Council, Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1777. Resolved, That such of the persons now confined in the Lodge, as shall take or subscribe the oath or affirmation required by law, in this commonwealth; or that shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, to wit:

"I do swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent State,"—shall be discharged.

I am, respectfully, your very humble servant,

Timothy Matlack,
Secretary.

To Colonel Wm. Bradford.

The committee appointed to prepare an address to the people, reported an essay, which was, with some amendments, agreed to, and a fair copy transcribed and signed. It was proposed to insert the same in the Evening Post; the printer being sent for, a conversation ensued which we thought it might be proper to add hereafter by way of postscript to our address. In the evening we sent for Robert Bell, and agreed with him to publish it in a pamphlet, as follows, to wit.

AN ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

By those Freemen of the City of Philadelphia, who are now confined in the Masons' Lodge by virtue of a General Warrant. Signed in Council by the Vice President of the Council of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, printed by Robert Bell, Third Street, 1777.

"The political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety.

"In order to have this liberty, it is requisite that the government be so constituted that one man need not be afraid of another.

"When the legislative or executive bodies are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, *there can be no liberty;* because apprehensions may arise lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."—Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, book ix. ch. vi.

Having in the course of the present week, laid before the public, some remonstrances which our present situation called on us to make to the President and Council, and in which we conceived you were equally (though not so immediately) concerned with ourselves, and perceiving that advantage is taken of our situation, to represent us to you, as men dangerous to the community: we think ourselves bound by the duty we owe to our country,—to our families,—to those who have heretofore held us in esteem,—and to the general welfare of society, to ad-

dress you, and lay before you a particular statement of a most dangerous attack, which has been made upon the cause of civil and religious freedom, by confining, and attempting to banish from their tenderest connexions, a number of men who can, without boasting, claim to themselves the characters of upright and good citizens.

For some time past, it has been a subject of public conversation, that lists were made out of great numbers of the citizens of *Philadelphia*, who were to be confined for offences *supposed to have been committed* against the interests of *America*. These reports were generally supposed to arise from intemperate zeal and personal animosities; and until the attempt, which creates the necessity of calling your attention to us, little regard seemed to be paid to them.

But a few days since the scene opened, and we the subscribers were called upon by persons, not known as public officers of justice, to put our names to a paper, "promising not to depart from our dwelling-houses, and to be ready to appear, on the demand of the President and Council of the State of *Pennsylvania*, and to engage to refrain from doing any thing injurious to the United Free States of *North America*, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the commander of the *British* forces, or any other person whatever, concerning public affairs."

Conscious of our innocence in respect to the charges insinuated in this paper against us, and unwilling to part with the liberty of breathing the free air, and following our lawful business beyond the narrow limits of our houses, disclaiming to be considered in so odious a light, as men who by crimes had forfeited our common and inherent rights, we refused to become voluntary prisoners, and rejected the proposal. We demanded with that boldness which is inseparable from innocence, to know by what authority they acted, of what crimes we were accused meriting such treatment; and though to some of us the small satisfaction was given, of acquainting us they acted in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, and to

others was read part of a warrant from the President and Council, yet not one of us was allowed the indisputable right of either reading or copying it. Although the great number of messengers employed in the execution of this warrant, and of the persons who were the objects of it, varied some of the circumstances attending it, yet the general tenor of their conduct was uniform, and marks the spirit which actuated them. We were all, upon our refusal to subscribe, either immediately, or in some short time conducted to this place, where we remained in close confinement, under a military guard, for twenty-four hours, expecting to be informed of the cause of our being taken, and to have an opportunity of defending ourselves; but finding no notice taken of us by our persecutors, we at length unitedly demanded of one of the principal messengers, a copy of the warrant, by virtue of which we were seized, in order that we might know from thence, what heinous crimes were charged on us, to justify such rigorous treatment. After consulting his employers, and causing some delay, he thought proper to grant our demand; but how were we astonished to find a general warrant, specifying no manner of offence against us, appointing no authority to hear and judge whether we were guilty or innocent, nor limiting any duration to our confinement. Nor was this extraordinary warrant more exceptionable in these respects, than in the powers given to the messengers to break and search not only our own, but all the houses their heated imaginations might lead them to suspect. It would be tedious to remark all the gross enormities contained in this engine of modern despotism; we therefore present you with a copy, from a bare perusal of which you will form a better idea of the arbitrary spirit it breathes, than from any description we could possibly give of it.

IN COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, August 31, 1777.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States of North America, have by their resolve of the 28th instant, August, recom-

mended to the executive powers of the several States, to apprehend and secure all persons, who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, particularly, Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen., Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher, (sons of Joshua,) together with all such papers in their possession as may be of a political nature, and that the persons so seized be confined in such places, and treated in such manner, as shall be consistent with their respective characters, and the security of their persons,—and that the records and papers of the Meetings of Sufferings of the Society of the people called Quakers, in the several States, be forthwith secured, and such parts of them as may be of a political nature, be forthwith transmitted to Congress. And whereas, it is necessary for the public safety at this time, when a British army has landed in Maryland, with a professed design of enslaving this free country, and is now advancing toward this city, as a principal object of hostility, that such dangerous persons be accordingly secured, therefore, resolved, that a suitable number of the friends to the public cause, be authorized forthwith to seize and secure the persons of the said

*Joshua Fisher,
*Thomas Wharton, sen.,
*Henry Drinker,
John James,
*Miers Fisher,
*Adam Kuhn, M. D.,
*George Roberts,
*Rev. Thomas Combe,
*Charles Jervis,
*Samuel Pleasants,
*James Pemberton,
*John Pemberton,
*Israel Pemberton,
*Thomas Fisher, son of Joshua,
*Samuel Fisher, son of Joshua,
*Joseph Fox,
*Samuel Shoemaker,
William Druit Smith,
Alexander Stedman,
Charles Stedman, jun.,
*Owen Jones, jun.,
William Lennox,
*Caleb Emlen,
*Charles Eddy,
*Thomas Pike,
*Thomas Ashton, merchant,

*Samuel Emlen,
*Hugh Roberts,
*William Smith, D. D.,
*John Hunt,
*Samuel Murdock,
*Abel James,
Elijah Brown,
*Phineas Bond,
*Samuel Jackson,
William Smith, broker,
William Inlay,
*Jeremiah Warder,
*Thomas Gilpin,
*Edward Pennington,
*Thomas Affleck.

Resolved, That the following instructions be also given:

Early attention should be given to John Hunt, who lives on the Germantown Road, about five miles off the city, and to John Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, and other leaders in the Society of Quakers, concerning books and papers; as to the rest, your own prudence must direct.

Congress recommends it, and we wish to treat men of reputation with as much tenderness as the security of their persons and papers will admit. We desire, therefore, that if the persons whose names in the list are marked thus *, offer to you by a promise in writing to remain in their dwelling-houses ready to appear on demand of Council, and meanwhile to refrain from doing any thing injurious to the United Free States of North America, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the Commander-in-chief of the British forces, or any other person whatever concerning public affairs, you dismiss them from further confinement of their persons. But if such engagement, or a promise equivalent thereto, cannot be obtained, we desire that in such case you confine the refusers, together with the others to whose names the said mark is not prefixed, in some convenient place, under a guard, with which the town major, Colonel Nicola, will supply you. The Freemasons' Lodge may perhaps be procured; it would serve as well as any other place for this purpose. You may perceive that Council would not without necessity commit many of the persons to the common jail or even to the state prison.

Resolved, That the following persons be appointed and authorized to carry into execution the resolve of yesterday respecting the arresting such persons as are deemed inimical to the cause of American liberty, viz.:

William Bradford,	Lazarus Pine,
William Carson,	James Claypole,
Sharpe Delany,	Captain Burney,
William Heysham,	William Graham,
John Downey,	James Kerr,
John Purviance,	William Hardy,
John Galloway,	William Tharpe,
Joseph Blower,	Charles Wilson Peale,
John Lisle,	Captain M'Cullock,
Paul Coxe,	Nathaniel Donnell,
James Loughead,	Robert Smith,
Adam Kimmel,	Thomas Bradford,
James Cannon,	

together with such persons as they shall call to their assistance.

George Bryan, Vice-President.

The power of search must necessarily extend to the opening of locks.

George Bryan, Vice-President.

A true copy.

William Bradford.

You will observe that the President and Council, who know our characters, and to whom (but for their prejudice and want of candour in this instance), we could have appealed for the innocence of our conduct and conversation, have not undertaken to charge us with any offence, but rely as a foundation for their proceedings, on the information contained in a recommendation of Congress, to whom the greater part of us are scarcely known but by name, and who must have formed

the hard judgment they pronounced against us *unheard*, from reports whispered by our enemies.

Can any thing more decisively evidence the want of proof against us, and the injustice of the insinuations, than this stubborn incontrovertible fact? We have demanded as a matter of right, to be heard before both those bodies, who have hitherto declined it. A demand reasonable in itself, founded on the immutable principles of equity, and warranted by the constitution under which the Council derive every power they claim.

The powers granted by this warrant are such, as in any free country, where the laws and not the will of the governors, are the standard of justice, would be reprobated, as overturning every security that men can rely on. Your houses, which by the law of the land, are your castles against invaders, your chambers, your closets, your desks, the repositories of your deeds, your securities, your letters of business or friendship, and other domestic concerns, which every man naturally wishes to keep within the circle of his own family, are permitted to be broken, searched, exposed to the prying eye of malignant curiosity, and all this without any well-founded cause of suspicion. This is not declamation, nor an idle apprehension of imaginary grievances, but a true representation of what some of us have experienced, in the execution of this unprecedented commission. Nor can any man think himself safe, from the like, or perhaps more mischievous effects, if a precedent of so extraordinary a nature, be established by a tame acquiescence with the present wrong.

By perusing the following remonstrance, made to the Council, by three of us, you will find that application was made for relief from our oppressions.

A remonstrance this day presented to the President and Council by the hands of their secretary.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance of Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, sheweth:

That Lewis Nicola is about to deprive us of our liberty, by an order from you, of which the following is a copy, viz.:

"In Council, September 3d, 1777.

"Ordered, that Colonel Nicola, town major, do take a proper guard and seize Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, and conduct them to the Freemasons' Lodge, and there confine them under guard till further orders."

We are advised, and from our own knowledge of our rights and privileges as freemen, are assured, that your issuing this order is *arbitrary*, *unjust*, and *illegal*, and we therefore believe it is our duty, in clear and express terms, to remonstrate against it.

The order appears to be *arbitrary*, as you have assumed an authority not founded on law or reason, to deprive us, who are peaceable men, and have never borne arms, of our liberty, by a military force, when you might have directed a legal course of proceeding. *Unjust*, as we have not attempted, nor are charged with any act inconsistent with the character we have steadily maintained as good citizens, solicitous to promote the real interest and prosperity of our country. And that it is *illegal*, is evident from the perusal and consideration of the constitution of the government from which you derive all your authority and power.

We therefore claim our undoubted right as freemen, having a just sense of the inestimable value of religious and civil liberty, to be heard, before we are confined in the manner directed by the said order; and we have the more urgent cause for insisting on this our right, as several of our fellow-citizens have been some days, and are now confined by your order, and no opportunity is given them to be heard; and we have been informed that it is your purpose to send them and us into a distant part of the country, even beyond the limits of the jurisdiction you claim, and where the recourse we are justly and lawfully entitled to, of being heard and of clearing ourselves from any charge or suspicions you may entertain respecting us *will be impracticable.*

We fervently desire you may be so wise as to attend to the dictates of truth and justice in your own minds, and observe the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom you profess to believe in—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so unto them," (Matthew vii. 12,) and then we have no doubt you will comply with this just claim we make, which will be duly acknowledged by your real friends and well-wishers.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON,
JOHN HUNT,
SAMUEL PLEASANTS.

Philadelphia, 4th of 9th month, 1777.

We, the subscribers, attended at the door of the Council chamber, and made application, by the Secretary, to be admitted, in order to deliver our remonstrance, to which we could, after repeated applications, obtain no other answer than that "Council had issued the arrest in consequence of a resolve of Congress, and cannot now admit you to be heard."

We therefore delivered our remonstrance to the Secretary, and waited until he came out on another occasion, and told us "it had been read to the Council, and they afterwards proceeded to other business which was before them." Immediately after which we were conducted by Lewis Nicola to the Freemasons' Lodge, where we are now confined, with a number of our fellow-citizens, with whom we have joined in a more full remonstrance to the President and Council; and this evening William Bradford came to us, and read to us a letter of which the following is a copy, viz.:

SIR,

Council have resolved to send the prisoners now confined in the Freemasons' Lodge, to Staunton, in the county of Augusta, in the state of Virginia, there to be secured and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters, and the security of their persons; which you are requested to communicate to them, and inform them that car-

riages will be provided for their accommodation on the journey, unless they choose to provide themselves therewith. It is proposed they go off Saturday morning next.

I am, with great respect,
Your humble servant,
TIMOTHY MATLACK,
For Col. Wm. Bradford. Secretary.

Thursday, Sept. 4th, 1777.

The above is a true copy of the letter I received this evening from Timothy Matlack.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

By the letter published at the foot of it, you will see what are the ideas of justice entertained by the Council. Instead of the required hearing—to avoid such application, they resolved to banish us *unheard*, into an obscure corner of a country nearly three hundred miles distant from our parents, our wives, our children, our dear and tender connexions, friends, and acquaintance, to whom we owe, and from whom we expect protection, assistance, comfort, and every endearing office, to a country, where the President and Council have no pretence of jurisdiction, from whence we may be liable to be further banished.

Before the receipt of that letter, we had prepared and sent the following remonstrance:

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, freemen and inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, now confined in the Freemasons' Lodge,

Sheweth:

That the subscribers have been by virtue of a warrant signed in Council, by George Bryan, Vice-President, arrested in our houses, and on our lawful occasions, and conducted to this place, where we have been kept in close confinement, under a strong military guard, two or more days; and although

divers of us demanded of the messengers who arrested us, and insisted on having copies of the said warrant, yet we were not able to procure the same till this present time, but have remained here *unaccused* and *unheard.*

We now take the earliest opportunity of laying our grievances before your body, from whom we apprehend they proceed, and of claiming to ourselves the liberties and privileges to which we are entitled, by the fundamental rules of justice—by our birthright and inheritance—by the laws of the land—and by the express provision of the present constitution, under which your board derives their power.

We apprehend that no man can lawfully be deprived of his liberty without a warrant from some persons having competent authority, specifying an offence against the laws of the land, supported by oath or affirmation of the accuser, and limiting the time of his imprisonment, until he is heard, or legally discharged, unless the party be found in the actual perpetration of a crime. Natural justice, equally with law, declares that the party accused should know what he is to answer to, and have an opportunity of showing his innocence. These principles are strongly enforced in the ninth and tenth sections of the Declaration of Rights, which form a fundamental and inviolable part of the Constitution from which you derive your power, wherein it is declared—

"IX.—That in all prosecutions for criminal offences, a man hath a right to be heard by himself and his counsel, to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the country, without the unanimous consent of which jury he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor can any man be justly deprived of his liberty except by the laws of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

"X.—That the people have a right to hold themselves, their houses, papers, and possessions, free from search or seizure, and therefore warrants without oaths or affirmations first made, affording a sufficient foundation for them, and whereby any

officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted."

How far these principles have been adhered to in the course of this business, we shall go on to show.

Upon the examination of the said warrant, we find it is in all respects inadequate to these descriptions; altogether unprecedented in this or any other free country, both in its substance and the latitude given to the messengers who were to execute it, and wholly subversive of the very constitution you profess to support. The only charge on which it is founded, is a recommendation of Congress to apprehend and secure all persons who in their general conduct and conversation have evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, and particularly naming some of us; but not suggesting the least offence to have been committed by us.

It authorizes the messengers to search all papers belonging to us, upon a bare possibility that something political may be found, but without the least ground for a suspicion of the kind.

It requires papers relative to the sufferings of the people called Quakers to be seized, without limiting the search to any house or number of houses, under colour of which every house in the city might be broken open.

To the persons whom the Congress have thought proper to select, the warrant adds a number of the inhabitants of the city, of whom some of us are part; without the least insinuation that they are within the description given by the Congress in their recommendation.

It directs all these matters to be executed (though of the highest importance to the liberties of the people), at the discretion of a set of men who are under no qualification for the due execution of the office, and are unaccustomed to the forms of executing civil process, from whence, probably, have proceeded the excesses and irregularities committed by some of them, in divers instances, by refusing to give copies of the

process to the parties arrested; by denying some of us a reasonable time to consider of answers, and prepare for confinement. In the absence of others, by breaking our desks and other private repositories, and by ransacking and carrying off domestic papers, printed books, and other matters not within the terms of the warrant. It limits no time for the duration of our imprisonment, nor points at any hearing, which is an absolute requisite to make a legal warrant, but confounds in one warrant the power to apprehend and the authority to commit, without interposing a judicial officer between the parties and the messenger.

Upon the whole, we conceive this warrant and the proceedings thereupon, to be far more dangerous in its tendency, and a more flagrant violation of every right which is dear to freemen, than any act that can be found in the records of the English Constitution.

But, when we consider the use to which this general warrant has been applied, and the persons upon whom it has been executed, (*who challenge the world to charge them with offence,*) it becomes of too great magnitude to be considered as the cause of a few. It is the cause of every inhabitant, and may, if permitted to pass into a precedent, establish a system of arbitrary power, unknown but in the Inquisition, or the despotic courts of the East.

What adds further to the alarming stretch of power is, that we are informed that the Vice-President of the Council has declared to one of the magistrates of the city, who called on him to inquire into the cause of our confinement, that we were to be *sent to Virginia unheard.*

Scarcely could we believe such a declaration could have been made by a person who fills the second place in the government, till we were this day confirmed in the melancholy truth by three of the subscribers, whom you absolutely refused to hear in person, or by counsel. We would remind you of the complaints urged by numbers of yourselves against the Parliament of Great Britain, for condemning the town of Boston

unheard, and we call upon you to reconcile your present conduct with your then professions, or your repeated declarations in favour of general liberty.

In the name therefore of the whole body of the freemen of Pennsylvania, whose liberties are radically struck at in this arbitrary imprisonment of us, their unoffending fellow-citizens, we demand an audience, that so our innocence may appear, and persecution give place to justice. But if, regardless of every sacred obligation by which men are bound to each other in society, and of that constitution by which you profess to govern, which you have so loudly magnified for the free spirit it breathes, you are still determined to proceed, be the appeal to the righteous Judge of all the earth, for the integrity of our hearts, and the unparalleled tyranny of your measures.

James Pemberton,	Henry Drinker,
Thomas Wharton,	Phineas Bond,
Thomas Combe,	Thomas Gilpin,
Edward Pennington,	John Pemberton,
Thomas Pike,	Thomas Fisher,
Owen Jones, jun.,	Miers Fisher,
Thomas Affleck,	Charles Eddy,
Charles Jervis,	Israel Pemberton,
William Smith, (broker,)	John Hunt,
William Druit Smith,	Samuel Pleasants,

Masons' Lodge, Philadelphia,
September 4th, 1777.

N. B.—The three last subscribers were first attended by some of those who executed the general warrant; but after their remonstrance to the President and Council, were arrested by Lewis Nicola, and conducted to the Lodge, by a special order to him.

The foregoing remonstrance was delivered to Thomas Wharton, Jr., President, &c., last evening, who promised to lay it before Council, and send an answer to one of the gentlemen, who delivered it to him this morning; but no answer has yet been received.

September 5th, half-past two o'clock, P. M.

Thus the matter rested till about seven o'clock yesterday evening, when instead of returning an answer to our repeated demand of an hearing, which we still adhere to as our undoubted right, the Secretary of the Council enclosed to William Bradford a copy of a new resolve, desiring him to acquaint us with it; wherein, without the least mention of supporting their insinuations against us, they shift the ground on which they set out, and propose a test to be taken by us, in full satisfaction of all their suspicions.

To this resolve we are preparing an answer, which we intend soon to lay before them; and in the mean time, we beg you will avoid the being influenced by any anonymous publications, which our adversaries, to draw our attention from the immediate object before us may utter against us, filled with falsehoods and misrepresentations, which it is apparent the authors would never have published, if they were not assured the printers would conceal their names.

Our attention is now engaged in a most important struggle for civil and religious liberty; we therefore hope you will not expect us to waste that time in refuting such anonymous performances, which is wholly requisite for bringing this grand point to a proper conclusion. We cannot, however, wholly pass by a publication in the last Evening's Post, calculated to throw an odium on the just cause in which we are suffering. It is represented in that piece, that the Quakers are the principal objects of resentment, and the cause assigned is the issuing "seditious publications called testimonies," one of which they assert has been unseasonably published at two critical periods.

A single ray of Christian charity would be sufficient to show the uncandid construction put by that writer upon the exercise of those religious rights secured by the Constitution to every religious society, of warning and admonishing their members to avoid every thing inconsistent with the principles they hold. It is well known, that at both the times hinted at, contending armies were endeavouring *within the circle of their yearly*

meeting, to procure all persons that should come in their way to join them in military preparations.

The testimony of the Quakers is against all wars and fighting, and against entering into military engagements of any kind; surely then, it was the right of the representatives of that Society, to caution their members from engaging in any thing contrary to their religious principles. But if it be an offence in those who were active in that publication, what have those of us done who are not members of that Society, who are of the Church of England (which two denominations comprehend all the subscribers), and who have published no testimonies?

But this cannot be considered by the writer as a dangerous publication, or *why does he republish it* in the present critical situation of public affairs? Surely this charge is a mere pretence to vilify a respectable body of the inhabitants.

Thus we have furnished you with a calm and dispassionate account of our present circumstances, and we wish to have it considered as a vindication of our own characters, and a peaceable though firm assertion of the inalienable rights of freemen.

Difficulties may perhaps await us, but relying on the assistance of that Almighty Being who is the guardian of the innocent, we prepare to meet them, rather than endanger public happiness and freedom, by a voluntary surrender of those rights which we have never forfeited.

Masons' Lodge, September 6th, 1777.

Israel Pemberton,
John Hunt,
James Pemberton,
Thomas Wharton,
John Pemberton,
Thomas Coombe,
Edward Pennington,
Henry Drinker,
Phineas Bond,
Miers Fisher,
Thomas Fisher,
Samuel R. Fisher,
Thomas Affleck,
Charles Jervis,
William Smith, (broker,)
Thomas Pike,

Samuel Pleasants,	William Druit Smith,
Thomas Gilpin,	Elijah Brown,
Charles Eddy,	Owen Jones, Jr.

P. S.—The foregoing address was prepared, and intended for publication in the Evening Post of the 6th instant; but before we thought proper to deliver it to the printer, we chose to have some conversation with him. He was sent for and attended us. We told him we had a paper to publish in our vindication, with our names signed; that as we were confined on some suspicions unknown to us, it was hard we should be attacked by anonymous writers in the papers, our characters aspersed, and prejudices excited against us, when we were demanding a hearing, which ought to be unbiassed and impartial. We therefore required of him, as what we thought a matter of right, according to the rules of every impartial free press, that he would refrain from publishing hereafter any anonymous papers reflecting upon us, and that he would acquaint us with the name of the writer of two paragraphs, in the then last Post, highly injurious to our characters. To the former he gave us an absolute promise to adhere; to the latter he said that he could not give up the name without the writer's consent; that he would go to him and return with his answer as soon as he could, at the same time promised that if we desired it he would insert our address in the Post of that evening, though it would delay its appearance till some time the next day. He went away, and we have not since heard from him. Hence we conclude the writer is ashamed to avow the performance.

We now lay before you a remonstrance presented to Congress by eight of us, who were selected by them, and recommended to the Council as dangerous men, who ought to be secured, the rest of us being named by the Council themselves, and included together with them in the general warrant.

TO THE CONGRESS.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of Philadelphia, sheweth:

That we are confined by a military guard, having been arrested and deprived of our liberty, by order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, in consequence of a resolve made by you, on the 28th day of the last month, "recommending to the executive powers of the several states, to apprehend and secure all persons who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America," and particularly naming us, the subscribers, "together with all such papers, in our possession, as may be of a political nature;" the copy of which resolve we could not obtain till yesterday afternoon.

Conscious of our innocence, and that we have ministered no just occasion to have our characters thus traduced, and injuriously treated, we have remonstrated to the said President and Council, against their arbitrary, unjust, and illegal proceedings against us, and demanded our undoubted right of being heard by them; knowing we can manifest the falsehood and injustice of any injurious charge, or suspicions, they or you may entertain concerning us; but we are denied the opportunity of such a hearing, and were last evening informed, by their order, that they have resolved to send us to Staunton, in the county of Augusta, in Virginia, to be secured there; and we are now told that place is appointed by you, for our confinement.

We therefore, by our love to our country, whose true interest and prosperity we have steadily pursued, through the course of our conduct and conversations, and in justice to our characters, as freemen and Christians, with that freedom and resolution which influences men conscious of being void of just cause of offence, are bound to remonstrate against your arbitrary, unjust, and cruel treatment of us, our characters and families, and

against the course of proceeding you have chose and prescribed; by which the liberty, property, and character of every freeman in America is or may be endangered. Most of you are not personally known to us, nor are we to you; and few of you have had the opportunity of conversing with any of us, or of knowing any thing more of our conduct and conversation than what you have received from others; and thus we are subjected to the unjust suspicions you have entertained from the uncertain reports of our adversaries, and are condemned unheard, to be deprived of our most endearing connexions, and temporal enjoyments, when our personal care of them is most immediately necessary.

We are therefore engaged in the most solemn manner, to call upon and entreat you, to reconsider the course of your proceedings respecting us; and either by yourselves or the said President and Council, to give us the opportunity of a hearing and answering to every matter suggested to, and entertained by you or them, against us; being assured we shall appear to be true friends to, and anxiously solicitous for the prosperity of America, on the principles of justice and liberty; and though we are clearly convinced, from the precepts of Christ, the doctrine of his Apostles, and the example of his followers in the primitive ages of Christianity, that all outward wars and fightings are unlawful, and therefore cannot join therein for any cause whatever, we cannot but remind you that we are by the same principles restrained from pursuing any measures inconsistent with the apostolic advice, "to live peaceably with all men," under whatever powers it is our lot to live, which rule of conduct we are determined to observe, whatever you, or any others, may determine concerning us.

Your characters, in the conspicuous station you stand, and the regard due to the liberties, properties, and even the lives of those who are, or may be affected by the course of your proceedings, so loudly proclaim the justice of our demand of a hearing, that if more time remained for it, we judge further reasoning unnecessary, beseeching you to remember that we

are all to appear before the tribunal of Divine Justice, there to render an account of our actions, and to receive a reward according as our works have been. And we sincerely desire for you, as we do for ourselves, that we may all so direct our course, that we may at that tribunal receive the answer of "well done," and enjoy the reward of eternal peace and happiness.

We are your real friends,

Israel Pemberton,	Henry Drinker,
James Pemberton,	Thomas Fisher,
John Pemberton,	Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Wharton,	Samuel R. Fisher.

Philadelphia, 5th of 9th month, 1777, Lodge Alley.

We have seen the resolves of Congress published in the Evening Post, of which we shall take due notice, and also the papers published by order of Congress, in a supplement to the Pennsylvania Packet. As they are particularly pointed at a religious society who are capable of answering for their own conduct, we shall leave it to them to confute the insinuations contained in some parts of that publication, which some of us know they are able to do.

We also think it our duty to acquaint you, that Alexander Stedman and Charles Stedman, jun., who are included in the general warrant, were apprehended and brought here with us; but in a few hours they were carried under guard to the New Prison, where we are informed they yet remain, as much neglected by their accusers as we have been.

N. B. Seven o'clock, P. M.—We presented another remonstrance to the President and Council this day, to which we have received an answer, both which we shall endeavour to hand to the public to-morrow.

Masons' Lodge, September 9, 1777.

We now lay before you the papers referred to in our note of last evening, together with a copy of a letter received by Dr.

Hutchinson, informing us of the result of Council upon the last remonstrance.

Copy of a letter from Timothy Matlack to William Bradford.

Philadelphia, September 5th, 1777.

Sir,

A remonstrance, signed by the gentlemen confined at the Masons' Lodge, having been presented to Council and read, the Council took the same into consideration, and asked the advice of Congress thereupon, which being received, Council thereupon passed the following resolve, which they beg the favour of you to communicate to the aforesaid gentlemen.

In Council, Philadelphia, September 5th, 1777.

Resolved, That such of the persons now confined in the Lodge, as shall take and subscribe the oath or affirmation required by law, in this commonwealth, or that shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, to wit:

"I do swear (or affirm), that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent state," shall be discharged.

I am respectfully, your very humble servant,

Timothy Matlack,
Secretary.

To Colonel William Bradford.

N. B.—This letter was delivered to Mr. Bradford, as the answer of Council to the second remonstrance.

Copy of a third remonstrance, presented to the President and Council yesterday, by the hands of Samuel Rhoads, and Dr. Hutchinson.

Philadelphia, 8th September, 1777.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, freemen and inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, now confined in the Masons' Lodge, sheweth:

That it is with pain, we find ourselves under the disagreeable necessity of again remonstrating against your extraordinary mode of treating us. When our last remonstance was delivered to your President, he gave expectation to our fellow-citizens who waited on him, that he would lay it before you, and return an answer. Notwithstanding which, we have as yet received no answer whatsoever to it, but instead thereof, a paper signed by your Secretary, was delivered to us by William Bradford, the contents of which we shall have occasion to remark on.

But we must not omit another letter received through the same channel, by which we are confirmed in the truth of what we had before heard, that on the very day you were addressed by three of us to be heard, and before we were furnished with a copy of the general warrant, you had resolved to banish us to Staunton, in the county of Augusta, in Virginia, a place where you claim no jurisdiction, and to which we are utter strangers. This resolution formed against a body of innocent freemen, while demanding to be heard, is, we believe, the first instance of the kind to be found in the history of our country; and besides the violent infringement of the laws and constitution which you have engaged to govern by, the hardship is heightened by the particular situation of that country at this time; as it is publicly asserted that the Indians have already commenced hostilities upon the frontiers of Virginia, not very far distant from the place of our intended banishment, as though you could find no place of security without endangering our lives.

From the professions you have repeatedly made of your love of liberty and justice, and the manner in which we have de-

manded our undoubted rights, we had reason to expect to have heard from you on the subject of our last remonstrance; but we find we were mistaken, and the complaints of injured freemen still remain unanswered.

Whether you imagine we are of too little consequence to be regarded, or expect that confinement will reduce us to a tame acquiescence with your arbitrary proceedings, we shall not determine; it will not divert our attention from the important object we have in view in behalf of ourselves and our country. Nor will subtle proposals, fit only to captivate the unwary, decoy us from the sure ground on which we stand, into a measure as illegal and unconstitutional as your general warrant, and our oppressive treatment under it.

The proposition contained in your resolve of the 5th inst., to discharge us upon taking the test "required by law," or the new test framed by yourselves, now demand our notice.

And first we would observe, that if you had a right to make such a proposition, we think it *very improper to be made to men in our situation.* You have first deprived us of our liberty, on one pretence, which finding you are not able to justify, you waive, and require as a condition of our enlargement, that we should confess ourselves men of suspicious characters, by doing what ought not to be expected from innocent persons. This kind of procedure is not new in history; for though the great patriots of the Revolution found better expedients for the security of their government than what arises from oaths of abjuration, yet the annals, both of Old and New England, are stained with accounts of men, in circumstances similar to our own, dragged before magistrates, on the bare suspicion of crimes; of whom tests, which they conscientiously scrupled to take, have been afterwards demanded, as the condition of their enlargement. But such examples, we should hope, would not have found patrons among men professing to be reformers upon all the plans of civil and religious liberty, adopted by the free nations of Europe.

It is strange to us, that men entrusted with supreme execu-

tive powers, should be so regardless of the laws you have most solemnly engaged to execute, as to require us to do more than those very laws enjoin. By the Test Act, every inhabitant may take the test, and enjoy all the rights of freemen, or decline it, and submit to a deprivation of some of them, which are expressed in that act; but no power is given to any officer of justice whatsoever, to tender it to any person except in particular circumstances, and as the charge against us is not founded on a breach of that law, it is evident you exceeded your authority in putting it to us. But if after what is past, we could be surprised at any thing you do, we should have been astonished at the rapid progress of your usurpation in assuming legislative powers to yourselves, while the Assembly was sitting under the same roof. You have overturned the only security the Constitution has given the people against absolute despotism, by attempting to exercise the authority of framing a resolve operating as a law at the same time the powers of executing it.

Your duty as one branch of the Constitution, is confined to the executing the laws as you find them, and does not extend to the making new ones to salve your own irregular conduct. You have undertaken all this by proposing a new test of your own enacting, unknown to the laws and constitution of the government which you are to execute, unsupported by any authority under which you act; and this an *ex post facto law* made to criminate by a refusal those who before were innocent. And if we were in your opinion such dangerous persons, as you, under the sanction of the Congress, have endeavoured to represent us, and could not be secured without sending us to so remote and dangerous a part of the country, beyond the limits of your jurisdiction, how will the public be secured by our taking either of the tests you have proposed? That men of bad principles will submit to any tests to cover their dangerous and wicked purposes, is evident to all who have been conversant in public affairs.

The great Lord Halifax, who in the name of the people of

England presented the crown to King William and Queen Mary at the Revolution, has expressed himself on this subject, in the following nervous terms: "As there is no real security to any state by oaths, so no private person, much less statesman, would ever order his affairs as relying on it; for no man would ever sleep with open doors, or unlocked up treasure or plate, should all the town be sworn not to rob."

Another most extraordinary proceeding we find in your Secretary's letter, where he says, that you *asked, and received the advice of Congress* upon our remonstrance, before you determined upon it. What! shall unaccused citizens, demanding their inherent rights, be delayed or refused a hearing until Congress can be consulted? A body, who have engaged not to interfere in the internal police of the government. Perhaps you thought the authority of a recommendation from Congress would render your arbitrary designs effectual, and countenance you in the eyes of the people. We trust you will be mistaken, and that neither Congress nor the people will approve your measures.

Having thus remarked on your proposal, protesting our innocence, we again repeat our pressing demand, to be informed of the cause of our commitment, and to have a hearing in the face of our country, before whom we shall either stand acquitted or condemned.

Israel Pemberton,
James Pemberton,
John Hunt,
Thomas Wharton,
Thomas Coombe,
Edward Pennington,
John Pemberton,
Henry Drinker,
Phineas Bond,
Thomas Affleck,
Owen Jones, jun.,
William Drewet Smith,
Samuel Pleasants,
William Smith, (broker,)
Charles Jervis,
Thomas Pike,
Thomas Gilpin,
Samuel R. Fisher,
Thomas Fisher,
Elijah Brown,
Miers Fisher,
Charles Eddy.

Philadelphia, September 8th, 1777.

"Sir,—

The remonstrance delivered by you and Samuel Rhoads, Esq., to me, has been read in Council, and I am directed to acquaint you, that the business to which this remonstrance relates, is referred to Congress.

I am, with great respect, your humble servant,

T. Matlack,
Secretary.

To Doctor Hutchinson, (Present.)"

Masons' Lodge, September 9, 1777, 10 o'clock, P. M.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The following is a copy of a paper we received at half-past four o'clock this afternoon, and we have since received orders to prepare for our banishment to-morrow.

"IN COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, September 9th, 1777.

Resolved, That

James Pemberton,
Henry Drinker,
Israel Pemberton,
John Pemberton,
Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Wharton, sen.,
Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,)
Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,)
Miers Fisher,
Elijah Brown,
John Hunt,
Phineas Bond,
Rev Thomas Coombe,
Charles Jervis,
William Drewet Smith,
Charles Eddy.
Thomas Pike,
Owen Jones, jun.,
Edward Pennington,
William Smith,
Thomas Gilpin, and
Thomas Affleck,

apprehended by Council, as persons who have uniformly manifested, by their general conduct and conversation, a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, and now im-

prisoned in the Freemason's Lodge in this city, they refusing to confine themselves to their several dwellings, and thereby making the restraint of their persons in another manner necessary; and having refused to promise to refrain from corresponding with the enemy; and also declined giving any assurance of allegiance to this State, as of right they ought; do thereby renounce all the privileges of citizenship; and that it appears they consider themselves the subjects of the King of Great Britain, the enemy of this and the other United States of America, and that they ought to be proceeded with accordingly.

"Resolved, That persons of like characters, and in emergencies equal to the present, when the enemy is at our doors, have in the other States been arrested and secured upon suspicions arising from their general behaviour, and refusal to acknowledge their allegiance to the States of which they were the proper subjects; and that such proceedings may be abundantly justified by the conduct of the freest nations, and the authority of the most judicious civilians. Therefore,

"Resolved, That the persons whose names are mentioned above be, without further delay, removed to Staunton, in Virginia, there to be treated according to their characters and stations, as far as may be consistent with the securing of their persons. Also,

"Resolved, That Wm. Imlay, said to be a subject of the state of New York, having behaved in like manner as the persons above mentioned, and in particular declined to give assurance of allegiance to the state of New York, be removed and secured with the rest.

"Ordered, That Colonel Nicola, the town major, secure the prisoners above-named now in the Masons' Lodge, and assist in removing them out of the city.

"Extract from the minutes.

"T. Matlack,
"Secretary."

As we consider this to be the highest act of tyranny that has been exercised in any age or country, where the shadow of liberty was left, we have in the following manner entered our protest against these proceedings.

PROTEST.

9th September, 1777.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance and protest of the subscribers, sheweth:

That your resolve of this day was this afternoon delivered to us, which is the more unexpected, as last evening your Secretary informed us you had referred our business to Congress, to whom we were about further to apply.

In this resolve, contrary to the inherent rights of mankind, you condemn us to banishment *unheard.*

You determine matters concerning us, which *we could have disproved*, had our right to a hearing been granted.

The charge against us of refusing "to promise to *refrain* from corresponding with the enemy," insinuates that we have already held such correspondence, *which we utterly and solemnly deny.*

The tests you proposed, we were by no law bound to subscribe, and notwithstanding our refusing them, we are still justly and lawfully entitled to all the rights of citizenship, of which you are attempting to deprive us.

We have never been suffered to come before you to evince our innocence, and remove suspicions which you have laboured to instil into the minds of others, and at the same time knew to be groundless, although Congress recommended it to you to give us a hearing, and your President this morning assured two of our friends we shoul have it.

In vindication of our characters, we who are of the people called Quakers, are free to declare, that,

Although at the time many of our forefathers were convinced of the truth, which we their descendants now profess, great fluctuations and various changes and turnings happened

in government, and they were greatly vilified and persecuted for a firm and steady adherence to their peaceable and inoffensive principles, yet they were preserved from any thing tending to promote insurrections, conspiracies, or the shedding of blood; and during the troubles which by permission of Divine Providence have latterly prevailed, we have steadily maintained our religious principles in these respects, and have not held any correspondence with the contending parties, as is unjustly insinuated, but are withheld and restrained from being concerned in such matters, by that divine principle of grace and truth which we profess to be our guide and rule through life. This is of more force and obligation than all the tests and declarations devised by men.

And we who are of the Church of England, are free to declare to you and to the world, that we never have at any time during the present controversy, either directly or indirectly, "communicated any intelligence whatever to the Commander of the British forces, or any other person concerned in public affairs." And with the same cheerfulness we would have engaged not to hold any such correspondence in future, had not the requisition been coupled with ignominious and illegal restrictions, subjecting us to become prisoners within the walls of our own dwellings, and to surrender ourselves to the President and Council on demand. This the clear consciousness of our own innocence absolutely forbade us to accede to.

Upon the whole, your proceedings have been so arbitrary that words are wanting to express our sense of them. We do therefore, as the last office we expect you will now suffer us to perform for the benefit of our country, in behalf of ourselves and those freemen of Pennsylvania who have any regard for liberty, SOLEMNLY REMONSTRATE AND PROTEST against your whole conduct in this unreasonable excess of power exercised by you.

That the evil and destructive spirit of pride, ambition, and arbitrary power, with which you have been actuated, may cease and be no more; "and that peace on earth, and good will to men" may happily take the place thereof in your and all

men's minds, is the sincere desire of your oppressed and injured fellow-citizens.

Israel Pemberton,	Owen Jones, Jr.
John Hunt,	Thomas Gilpin,
James Pemberton,	Charles Jervis,
John Pemberton,	Phineas Bond,
Thomas Wharton,	Thomas Affleck,
Edward Pennington,	William Drewit Smith,
Thomas Coombe,	Thomas Pike,
Henry Drinker,	William Smith, (broker,)
Thomas Fisher,	Elijah Brown,
Samuel Pleasants,	Charles Eddy,
Samuel R. Fisher,	Miers Fisher.

As it has appeared proper to put the pamphlet on these minutes in the manner it was printed and handed to the public, the daily narrative has been somewhat interrupted, and when resumed according to the diary, there will appear to be a repetition of some of the addresses, but this occurs only at this part of the narrative; many of the events having to be alluded to both in the memorials and in the minutes.

When the remonstrances to the Congress of the United States, and to the Council of Pennsylvania, are mentioned in the journal of the company, and not written out at length, they will be found in the pamphlet, by reference to the pages.

On the 6th of September, 1777, there was brought to us a copy of a remonstrance, which had been presented to the President and Council on our behalf, signed by one hundred and thirteen Friends, which it is proper to insert on the Journal of our transactions, viz.:

Philadelphia, 5th of 9th month, 1777.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A number of our friends and fellow-citizens have been deprived of their liberty and taken from their families into a

place of confinement, by your warrant, and denied the just and reasonable request of *being heard*, and since ordered to be removed to a distant part of Virginia,—a proceeding which not only affects the persons immediately concerned, but is an alarming violation of the civil and religious rights of the community.

We therefore think it our duty to our said friends, to ourselves, to our country, and to mankind in general, to remonstrate against such conduct, which we conceive no plea of necessity can justify, lest by our silence on this very interesting occasion, it should be understood that we acquiesced therein.

We earnestly wish you to consider this matter in a solid, religious way, and in the fear of God, whom we profess to serve in the Gospel of his Son, at whose judgment seat we shall all ere long appear, and that we may all be prepared for this awful period, is the real desire of your sincere friends,

Townsend Speakman,
Samuel Lobdell,
John Townsend,
Amos Taylor,
Isaac Forster,
Elias Dawson,
Caleb Carmalt,
Isaac Paxon,
Daniel Dawson,
Josiah Coates,
Thomas Norton,
Caleb Offley,
Samuel Taylor,
Stephen Maxwell,
Samuel Jones,
William Compton,
Charles Mifflin,
Thomas Howard,
Samuel Bettle,
Charles Logan,
Thomas Eddy,
Samuel Coates,
Roger Bowman,
Thomas Wishart,
Richard Wells,
James Bringhurst,
Daniel Drinker,
Ebenezer Robinson,
Caleb Atmore,
James Starr,
Benedict Dorsey,
Joseph Potts,
Richard Jones,
Isaac Parish,
John Haworth,
Samuel Clarke,

William Savery, Jr.,
John Thompson,
Daniel Offley, jr.,
Thomas Savery,
Benjamin Davis,
Isaac Lewis,
Abraham Mitchell,
John Guest,
George Guest,
Charles Dingee,
Jonathan Worrell,
Job Butcher,
John Eldridge,
John Evans,
Joseph Russel,
John Field,
Richard Price,
Joseph Cruikshank,
William Braver,
Edward Wells,
Richard Adams,
William Brown,
Anthony Benezet,
Owen Jones,
Anthony Morris,
John Reynell,
Samuel Rhoads,
Samuel Preston Moore,
John Morris,
Charles West,
Abraham Mason,
Samuel Noble,
David Bacon,
William Wilson,
John Drinker,
John Nancarrow, Jr.
Joshua Cresson,
William Dawson,
Nicholas Waln,
John Todd,
William Pusey,
James Cresson,
William Wayne,
Caleb Jones,
Robert Lewis,
Robert Waln,
Thomas Say,
Thomas Hallowell,
Joseph Richardson,
Edward Jones,
David Deshler,
Joseph Marriott,
Benjamin Hooton,
Robert Proud,
John Parish,
Abraham Carlisle,
William Savery,
Samuel Hopkins,
Thomas Masterman,
Joseph Bringhurst,
Samuel Rhoads, Jr.,
John Lownes,
Jonathan Shoemaker,
Samuel Richards,
Isaac Cathrall,
Benjamin Horner.

Philadelphia, 7th of 9th month, 1777.

Being the first day of the week, and we deprived of the privilege of assembling with our brethren as usual, for the per-

formance of public worship; but unwilling to omit that solemn indispensable duty, we desired the guards to inform our friends that we inclined to be pretty much alone; accordingly few visited us till evening.

Thomas Coombe being one of our number, and a minister of the Church of England, with such of us as were his fellow-citizens, collected about nine o'clock in the morning in one of our rooms to perform religious service. About ten o'clock the rest of us sat down, having the company of our friends John Foreman, John Parrish, Samuel Hopkins, David Estraugh, and two other Friends, soon after which the above-mentioned members of the Church of England came and sat with us. John Foreman expressed a few sentences in a very lively and acceptable manner, after which John Hunt was much favoured in setting forth the nature and qualifications of the true gospel ministry, and of that opposite spirit which leads into persecution, directing our attention to that divine Power, which alone can preserve and support us. And although it was a hard time of labour to some of us, yet we were united with him in his supplication for us, and for our near and tender connexions.

This afternoon we were engaged preparing a third remonstrance to the President and Council. A supplement extraordinary to John Dunlap's paper was brought to us, containing an epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings, dated 5th of 1st month, 1775; two testimonies from the same, dated 20th of 1st month, 1776; a minute of the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, dated 8th month 4th, 1777.

Also three false papers, or papers forged by some person, said to be found on Staten Island, among prisoners' baggage, and forwarded by General Sullivan. All published by order of Congress, and signed by Charles Thomson.

The above we believe was published to make up a charge against us, and prejudice the minds of the people; and it would appear that some of the officers were privy to getting up these forged papers, in order to throw the odium of such papers and intelligence, and documents upon us, and to have a pretext for

banishing us, who by leading innocent and quiet lives could not join in heart with such men. It was made known to us before we were apprehended that they would banish us.

Philadelphia, 8th of 9th month, 1777.

This morning we resumed the consideration of the remonstrance to the President and Council, and agreed upon it. A copy was made out and signed by us. Samuel Rhoads and Dr. Hutchinson undertook to deliver it. They returned soon and reported they had delivered it to Timothy Matlack, the Secretary, at the Council door. He had offered to introduce them, or to deliver it himself to the Council; they chose the latter mode.

See the third remonstrance to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, 8th September, 1777; as stated in the printed pamphlet at page 107.

After dinner a committee of Friends from the Meeting for Sufferings, attended us, and had a conference with several of our number, on the publications in a Supplement to John Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, as mentioned in the minute of yesterday, the publishing of which, at this time, appeared to be manifestly intended to mislead the people, to raise their enmity against us, and against the Society of Friends in general, in order to justify the unwarrantable proceedings respecting us, and such others of our Society as our persecutors had in view to take up in the same arbitrary manner. After some time spent in consideration of this matter, it was agreed that the members of the Meeting for Sufferings, and we, should keep it under consideration, and if either found their minds engaged to answer it, an essay should be made and communicated.

After our friends of the Meeting of Sufferings withdrew, on a conference among ourselves, it was thought necessary we

should draw up a remonstrance to Congress, further to justify ourselves, and to answer the foregoing publications; and a committee was appointed to prepare an essay.

This evening Dr. Hutchinson communicated to us a letter he had received from Timothy Matlack, Secretary to the Council; a copy of which is as follows:

"Philadelphia, September 8th, 1777.

"SIR,—

"The remonstrance delivered by you and Samuel Rhoads, Esq., to me, has been read in Council, and I am directed to acquaint you that the business to which this remonstrance relates, is referred to Congress.

"I am, with great respect,
Your humble servant,
TIMOTHY MATLACK,
Secretary.

"To Doctor Hutchinson."

Which being taken into consideration, we requested Dr. Hutchinson to apply to him for a copy of the minute of Council, referring our business to Congress, and also to ask him whether the Council considered us as their prisoners or not.

He returned late in the evening and informed us that Timothy Matlack refused to give him a copy of the minute we desired, without leave of Council, and told him the question he asked was artful and insidious, and he was not authorized to answer it.

9th day of 9th month.

Being desirous of procuring a copy of the minute of Council last referred to, and an answer to the question proposed last evening, we committed our request to writing, and desired Samuel Rhoads and Dr. Hutchinson to communicate it to Council, and endeavour to obtain an answer: it being as follows:

The prisoners at the Lodge, request Samuel Rhoads and Dr. Hutchinson to wait on the President and Council, and desire a copy of the minute of Council, referring the business of their remonstrance to Congress, and that they would let them know whether Council consider them their prisoners or not.

10th of 9th month.

Adam Rochenberger, sergeant of the guards, having informed some of the prisoners last night, that William Bradford and Lewis Nicola had both denied their having any charge of us, and added they should not hinder any, or all of us from going away, it was thought necessary to send for both William Bradford and Lewis Nicola, to inquire into the truth of this matter.

William Morrell, who waited on William Bradford, quickly returned and informed us that he is indisposed. We therefore agreed to send the following questions in writing.

William Bradford wrote his answers against the questions, and Lewis Nicola attending in person, the same questions were proposed to him.

The questions and their respective answers are as follows:

1st. Whether we are in his custody?

1st. W. B.—No.

1st. L. N.—I apprehend four of you are, and that I have nothing to say to the rest. The four are Mr. Israel Pemberton, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Pleasants, and Mr. Bond. I received no orders respecting the others, except to furnish William Bradford with a guard, by a written order of the President and Council.

2d. If answered in the negative. In whose custody are we?

2d. W. B.—I suppose Colonel Nicola's.

2d. L. N.—The last-mentioned four gentlemen are in my custody. If the rest are not in Colonel Bradford's, I know not whose they are.

3d. By whose orders were the guards placed here?

3d. W. B.—The Council's.

3d. L. N.—Charles Wilson Peale came to me for a guard by order of Colonel Bradford; in consequence of which I sent down twenty men to Masons' Lodge.

4th. By whose order has it been since continued?

4th. W. B.—I suppose the Council's.

4th. L. N.—The guard is continued in consequence of the first order by my directions; and I think it my duty to continue it till countermanded.

5th. Are there any particular orders given to the guards concerning us; if any, what are they and by whom given?

5th. W. B.—I know of no orders.

5th. L. N.—I have given no orders to the guards except on some complaint made to me of them on the day the first of the prisoners were committed, and suppose they have received their orders from Colonel Bradford.

10th of 9th month, 1777.—About half past four o'clock, we received a copy of the resolves of the President and Council, for our removal to Staunton, in Virginia.

Having conferred some time on the subject of said resolves, it was concluded to publish the same immediately, and to add thereto a protest against their arbitrary proceedings, and Henry Drinker and Miers Fisher were appointed to prepare an essay.

At half past seven o'clock, Lewis Nicola came to us with a letter directed to him, signed by George Bryan, Vice-President, signifying their intention of our being removed to-morrow, and the manner thereof.

Of this letter we did not obtain a copy. The substance of it was, directions to him to procure a sufficient number of city guards, and remove us over the bridge at Schuylkill, and there to deliver us to a party of horse, who would attend to take charge of us, and escort us to Staunton, Virginia. Lewis Nicola, at the same time informed us that he did not wish us to remove further this day than a short distance out of the city, and proposed our being ready to proceed about five o'clock, P. M.

The committee appointed to prepare a protest, reported an

essay, which being considered and amended was signed, and at about ten o'clock, P. M., was sent by Doctor Hutchinson and James Morton to be delivered to the Vice-President of the Council; but he being gone to bed, it was continued under their care, to be delivered to-morrow morning, and a copy was sent to the press, to be added to the remonstrance above mentioned, with the following short introduction.

Philadelphia, Masons' Lodge,
September 9, 1777, 4 o'clock.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The following is a copy of a paper we received at half past four o'clock this afternoon, and we have since received orders to prepare for our banishment to-morrow.

"IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 9th, 1777.

"Resolved, That

Israel Pemberton,	Thomas Fisher, son of Joshua,
James Pemberton,	Samuel Fisher, son of Joshua,
John Pemberton,	Henry Drinker,
Thomas Wharton, sen.,	Samuel Pleasants,
Miers Fisher,	John Hunt,
Phineas Bond,	Charles Jervis,
William Drewet Smith,	Thomas Pike,
Owen Jones, jun.,	William Smith,
Thomas Gilpin,	Charles Eddy,
Elijah Brown,	Edward Pennington,
Rev. Thomas Coombe,	Thomas Affleck,

apprehended by Council as persons who have uniformly manifested by their general conduct and conversation a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, and now imprisoned in the Freemasons' Lodge, in this city, they refusing to confine themselves to their several dwellings, and thereby

making the restraint of their persons in another manner necessary; and having refused to promise to refrain from corresponding with the enemy, and also declined giving any assurance of allegiance to this State, as of a right they ought, do hereby renounce all the privileges of citizenship; and that it appears they consider themselves subjects of the King of Great Britain, the enemy of this and the other United States of America, and that they ought to be proceeded with accordingly.

"Resolved, That persons of like characters, and in emergencies equal to the present, when the enemy is at our doors, have in the other States been arrested and secured upon suspicion arising from their general behaviour and refusal to acknowledge allegiance to the State, of which they were proper subjects; and that such proceedings may be abundantly justified by the conduct of the freest nation, and the authority of the most judicious civilians. Therefore,

"Resolved, That the persons whose names are mentioned above, be without further delay, removed to Staunton in Virginia, there to be treated according to their characters and stations, as far as may be consistent with the security of their persons. Also,

"Resolved, That William Imlay, said to be a subject of the State of New York, having behaved in like manner as the persons above mentioned, and in particular declined to give assurance of allegiance to the State of New York, be removed and secured with the rest.

"Ordered, That Colonel Nicola, the town major, secure the prisoners above named, now in the Masons' Lodge, and assist in removing them out of the city.

"Extract from the minutes,

"Timothy Matlack,
"Secretary."

As we consider this to be the highest act of tyranny that has been exercised in any age or country, where the shadow of liberty was left, we have in the following manner entered *our Protest* against these proceedings.

PROTEST.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The remonstrance and protest of the subscribers, sheweth:

That your resolve of this day was this afternoon delivered to us, which is the more unexpected, as last evening your Secretary informed us you had referred our business to Congress, to whom we were about further to apply.

In this resolve, contrary to the inherent rights of mankind, you condemn us to banishment *unheard.*

You determine matters concerning us, which *we could have disproved*, had a right to a hearing been granted.

The charge against us of refusing to "promise to refrain from corresponding with the enemy," insinuates that we may have already held such correspondence, *which we utterly and solemnly deny.*

The tests you proposed, we were by no law bound to subscribe, and notwithstanding our refusing them, we are still justly and lawfully entitled to all the rights of citizenship, of which you are attempting to deprive us.

We have never been suffered to come before you to evince our innocence, and to remove suspicions, which you have laboured to instil into the minds of others, and at the same time knew to be groundless, although Congress recommended it to you to give us a hearing, and your President this morning assured two of our friends we should have one.

In vindication of our characters, we who are of the people called Quakers, are free to declare that,

Although at the time many of our forefathers were convinced of the truth, which we their descendants now profess, great fluctuations and various changes and turnings happened in government, and they were greatly vilified and persecuted for a firm and steady adherence to their peaceable and inoffensive principles, yet they were preserved from any thing tending to promote insurrections, conspiracies, or the shedding of blood, and during the troubles, which by permission of Divine Provi-

dence have latterly prevailed, we have steadily maintained our religious principles in these respects, and have not held any correspondence with any of the contending parties, as it is unjustly insinuated, but are restrained from being concerned in such matters, from that divine principle of light and of truth, which we profess to be our guide and rule through life. This is of more force and obligation than all the tests and declarations devised by men.

And we who are of the Church of England are free to declare to you, and to the world, that we never have at any time during the present controversy, either directly or indirectly "communicated any intelligence whatever to the commander of the British forces, or to any other person concerned in public affairs," and with the same cheerfulness would have engaged not to hold any correspondence in future, had not the requisition been coupled with ignominious and illegal restrictions, subjecting us to become prisoners within the walls of our own dwellings, and to surrender ourselves to the President and Council on demand; this the clear consciousness of our own innocence absolutely forbade us to accede to.

Upon the whole, your proceedings have been so arbitrary, that words are wanting to express our sense of them.

We do, therefore, as the last office we expect you will now suffer us to perform, for the benefit of our country, in behalf of ourselves, and of those freemen of Pennsylvania who still have any regard for liberty, solemnly remonstrate and protest against your whole conduct in this unreasonable excess of power exercised by you.

That the evil and destructive spirit of pride, ambition, and arbitrary power, with which you have been actuated, may cease and be no more; and that peace on earth, and good will to men, may happily take the place thereof, in your and all men's minds, is the sincere desire of your oppressed and injured fellow-citizens.

Israel Pemberton,
John Pemberton,
Thomas Wharton,
Thomas Gilpin,
Charles Jervis,
Phineas Bond,

Edward Pennington,
Thomas Coombe,
Henry Drinker,
Thomas Fisher,
John Hunt,
Samuel Pleasants,
Samuel R. Fisher,
Owen Jones, Jr.,
James Pemberton,
Thomas Affleck,
William Druit Smith,
Thomas Pike,
William Smith, (broker,)
Elijah Brown,
Charles Eddy,
Miers Fisher.

Philadelphia, Masons' Lodge,
9th September, 1777, 10 o'clock, P. M.

Philadelphia, 10th of 9th month, 1777.

The remonstrance and protest were this morning delivered, and that, together with the resolves of the Council for our removal, being printed in a handbill, by Joseph Cruikshank, was distributed through the city about twelve o'clock.

A proposition of great importance being made by one of our company (Miers Fisher), the same was taken into serious consideration, and after a considerable time spent thereon, and much condescension prevailing, the question was put to each, and it appeared that several of our number were free to make further essay for our enlargement, by applying for writs of habeas corpus, it appeared that such as were inclined to do it should be left at liberty.

A number of questions being agreed on, were delivered to Lewis Nicola in writing, which he laid before Council, and on his return, he delivered us their verbal answers, which were taken down, being as follows:

The prisoners confined in the Masons' Lodge, having seen orders, about 8 o'clock last night, 9th inst., to Lewis Nicola, dated September 9th, 1777, which was the notice of the time prepared for our removal—

They ask him, or the President and Council, through him.

1st. How are we to be sent into banishment? If in carriages what sort, and how many?

1st. In six light wagons.

2d. Are we to be furnished with baggage-wagons? And how many?

2d. With two.

3d. What provisions and stores are provided for so long a journey?

3d. No provision is made but such as the road will supply you with.

4th. What number of beds and bedding?

4th. The taverns on the road will supply you.

5th. Who is to pay our travelling expenses, and for our support during our absence from our families and business?

5th. Council will pay your expenses on the road, and Congress will be applied to, to take into consideration your support during your absence.

6th. Are not such of us whose families and affairs require their presence and assistance preparatory to their leaving home, at liberty to repair there, and to have the necessary communication with their friends by letter, during our absence?

6th. The first part left to his discretion, and he grants it. The correspondence allowed by open letters, through the hands of the Continental Secretary of War.

7th. To whose custody are we to be committed when there? and will they have authority to suffer us, or one or more of us to visit our families on a promise to return, in case urgent circumstances require it?

7th. To the Governor of Virginia, who will have some instructions about you.

8th. And are we not to have a certified copy of our commitment to that country, and of the orders accompanying it, that we may know in what light we are represented, and in what manner we are to be treated?

8th. Council apprehend that Congress will give the escort proper instructions in the matter.

9th. Are we to have it in our power to apply to the officers of any government in which we may be, for the redress of any grievance we may labour under?

9th. Granted.

James Budden to command the escort.

Council persists in their determination of your going to-day.

Lewis Nicola informed us he would call on us at five o'clock, as he was in expectation of the carriages, &c., being ready by that time; before this he had sent a message informing us that our removal was to be deferred till to-morrow.

We acquainted him that two baggage-wagons would by no means be sufficient, that four at least would be necessary, and he promised to write a letter to the Secretary on the subject.

The address "To the Inhabitants" being printed, together with the several "Remonstrances, &c.," in a pamphlet, some of them were brought here about four o'clock, and were distributed.

Our friends, John Reynells and Owen Jones, were requested to call on Benjamin Towne, and acquaint him that as he had published the resolves of the President and Council, respecting our removal, we desired that he would publish our remonstrance and protest, and they were also requested to apply to Hall and Sellers, and to William Bradford, on the same account.

Apprehending it necessary to know the names of the Council, we applied to Lewis Nicola for a list, which he said he would not give us, as he knew very few of them. We however procured the following from a friend, but he could not assure us it was complete.

Thomas Wharton, Jr.,	President of the Council of Pennsylvania.
George Bryan,	Vice-President.
Jonathan Hodge,	Council.
John Evans,	Council.
John Proctor,	
James Edgar,	
Jacob Morgan,	
John Hambright,	

Joseph Hart,
Thomas Urie,
John Bayley,
Thomas Scott,
Timothy Matlack, Secretary.

This afternoon and evening, divers of our company went home to see their families, and settle their affairs; and Thomas Coombe returning, acquainted us he had given a parole, which was very unexpected to us, after the repeated declarations he had made, and his conduct during his confinement.

Philadelphia, 11th of 9th month, 1777.—Owen Jones reported that he had seen Benjamin Towne, who informed him the press had been set for our first joint remonstrance; that a person had applied to put an anonymous piece into his paper against us, but as he would neither give his name up or sign it, he took out the remonstrance, and published neither. That he was in great perplexity about these papers, when a piece was sent him by the Congress, containing minutes and resolves respecting us, which he published. That in regard to the present application he begged to be excused, as he had been divers times threatened on account of his publications, and he had reason to apprehend he would be taken up as a person suspected of being disaffected to the present measures, *and his press stopped if he complied with our request.*

About nine o'clock, Lewis Nicola informed us he had orders to call on Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, (James Budden being out of town, by report, designedly,) two of the troop of Light Horse, and as many of the City Guards as he might think sufficient, who were to conduct us to Reading, and there deliver us to some persons, whose names he could not tell, but orders would go with us; that he could not get ready till this afternoon, and proposed three o'clock. He read part of a letter signed Thomas Wharton, jun., containing his orders, of which he promised us a copy. We desired that the officer who was to command the party, should call and acquaint us

what orders he had respecting us; and we urged the necessity of an additional number of baggage-wagons, which he promised to procure.

Owen Jones reported that William Sellers said he would consult a friend whom he usually advises with, about printing our Remonstrance and Protest, and would be determined by his advice, and that William Bradford promised to publish it in his next paper.

Such of our number who had agreed to apply for writs of habeas corpus, had a meeting together, when they were drawn up and sent off by Levi Hollingsworth and Benjamin Bryan, to Thomas M'Kean and John Evans, lately appointed in the characters of Justices of the Supreme Court of the present system of government. The writs applied for, being nine in number, were for

Israel Pemberton,
James Pemberton,
Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Affleck,
Thomas Pike,
William Drewet Smith,
Thomas Gilpin,
Charles Eddy,
Charles Jervis.

The committee appointed to draw up a remonstrance to Congress, in answer to their publications against us, represented that, as we were likely to be hurried away by the Council, notwithstanding they had referred our business to Congress, they had thought it best to address the papers to the people, and laid before us an essay they had prepared, which was read, but not having time to correct it for the press, we delivered it to our friend, Owen Jones, desiring him, in conjunction with some other friends, to revise and correct it, and if they thought proper to publish it in our names, or make such other use of it as they might think expedient.

Sundry wagons, for our removal, were driven into Lodge Alley, about three o'clock in the afternoon, attended with a military guard; soon after, Lewis Nicola came and gave us

a copy of a letter from Thomas Wharton, jun., to him, directing the manner of our removal to be as follows:

"IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 10th, 1777.

'SIR,—

"The gentlemen of the Light Horse have made earnest application to be allowed to join General Washington, and to be released from the journey to Virginia. Their request is laudable, but it comes inconveniently, and makes some new provision needful for escorting the prisoners at the Lodge. At present it is proposed to entrust the direction of this business to two gentlemen of the troop and a competent number of your City Guards, mounted on horseback, as far as Reading. Your sentiments on this scheme, if you see any difficulty, are required. It is hoped that the number necessary will be small; this will perhaps be better seen after the journey has been entered a few miles.

"I am, sir, your very humble servant,

"THOMAS WHARTON, jun,

"President.

"To Colonel Nicola."

Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell attended, of whom we demanded a copy of their instructions respecting us, which they refused, and would not even read them to us, as a matter of right. After much altercation, Samuel Caldwell read them, as he informed us, though it appeared afterward he kept back a material part.

As they refused us a copy of these instructions, and insisted on our immediate removal, notwithstanding we informed them that writs of habeas corpus were sent for, it was thought necessary to make a protest against their proceedings, before some of our friends, which was done accordingly, and committed to writing in the presence of Owen Jones, Isaac Wharton,

John Reynells, Dr. Hutchinson, John Brown, and Joseph Bringhurst.

(For the protest under date of 9th September, 1777, see page 113.)

Phineas Bond having had thoughts of giving his parole, if the terms he proposed were admitted, applied for that purpose, but being disappointed, returned and informed us he was determined to go with us rather than comply by signing the parole offered him; but his name being struck off the list read to us, Lewis Nicola refused sending him with our company, and he informed him he was to remain in his custody.

JOURNEY TO VIRGINIA.

9th month, 11th.—About five o'clock we were compelled, some by actual force, and some by force being admitted, to take seats in a number of wagons, and were driven through the city, to the Falls of Schuylkill—a spectacle to the people.

Thus, by the bold attempt of a set of men who had thrust themselves into power, there was accomplished an affair, which has no parallel in history. A people who had professedly risen up in opposition to what they called an arbitrary exercise of power, were in a little time so lost to every idea of liberty, as to see, without dreading the consequences, the very foundation of freedom torn up. And men were found who would undertake the execution of the mandates of Council without inquiring into the justice of them.

This, however, is not an imputation upon all the citizens of Philadelphia; for, from the first of our imprisonment, a great number of them of most denominations, publicly expressed their abhorrence of the measures taken against us; and during our confinement we were every day visited by the most respectable characters of the community. On the day of our removal, not

only the house in which we were confined, but the streets leading to it, were crowded by men, women, and children, who by their countenances, sufficiently though silently expressed the grief they felt on the occasion.

We reached Palmer's tavern some time after dark. The house not affording room or convenience to lodge us, leave was given us to go with some of our friends in the neighbourhood, several of whom attended to invite us, John Vanderin, Joseph Warner, and Dr. William Smith, who entertained us with kindness and hospitality.

12th of 9th month.—We collected at Palmer's tavern, and set out between 8 and 9 o'clock, and reached the Black Horse, Hamilton's tavern, about 15 miles from Philadelphia, about 10 o'clock, and went about three miles further, to Archibald Thompson's. Our friends, John Parrish and John Foreman, who accompanied us from town, took an affectionate leave of us. We stopped about sunset at the Widow Lloyd's tavern, about thirty miles from Philadelphia, but as we could not be accommodated there, we went on to Pottsgrove, which we reached between seven and eight o'clock, thirty-seven miles from Philadelphia. Several of our kind friends came to the tavern and invited us to their houses. As soon as we arranged we went with them and lodged at the houses of the Widow Potts, Samuel Potts, John Potts, David Potts, and Thomas Rutter, agreeing to meet our guards at the tavern, about eight o'clock next morning.

13th of 9th month.—We met according to appointment, and as part of our baggage was left behind, we urged the necessity of staying here till it came up; being advised that several of our friends in Philadelphia were using endeavours to forward it. Some of our company not having a second shirt, or their warm clothing, we remonstrated about being sent away without it, and our escort agreed we should remain at Pottsgrove till to-morrow at seven o'clock.

We discovered to-day that William Antis, who holds the appointment of sub-lieutenant of the county, had been sent to, for

assistance, and we had reason to believe our detention here had been misrepresented to him, as well as a message sent by Peter De Haven to Reading. About three o'clock William Antis came to us, there having come near twenty armed men by his order, before that time. He urged the necessity of our going off, although before we could have got ready it would have been very late, and obliged us to ride most of the way in the night, in great danger of our lives, from the extreme badness of the roads; and it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to permit our staying till morning.

Here it is proper to remark that in our conference with S. Caldwell and A. Nesbitt, at twelve o'clock, the former of his own accord fully confirmed, as we had before stated, that he had further orders concerning us, as he then read instructions from the Board of War, signed by Richard Peters, directed to be handed by them to the several lieutenants of the counties through which we should pass on our way to Virginia, a copy of which was refused us; but it was afterwards obtained and will appear.

Pottsgrove, 14th day of 9th month, 1777.—This morning Levi Hollingsworth and Benjamin Bryant arrived with the writs of habeas corpus, for nine of our number, *allowed by Thomas M'Kean*, Chief Justice, which were regularly served on Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, who refused to obey them.

Those among us who had not been included in the above writs, now agreed to send them forward for acceptance, which was accordingly done by Benjamin Bryant, and it since appears that Nathaniel Walker agreed to accompany him. The names of those persons now applying are as follows:

John Hunt,
Edward Pennington,
William Smith, (broker,)
Thomas Fisher,
John Pemberton,
Thomas Wharton,
Elijah Brown,
Miers Fisher,
Henry Drinker,
Owen Jones, Jr.,
Samuel Rowland Fisher.

About nine o'clock we took leave of our kind friends at Pottsgrove, who had treated us with an extraordinary degree of hospitality, and expressed much sympathy for us, and a high approbation of our conduct. We passed through Bishop's Town, and arrived at Reading about two o'clock.

On going through the town there appeared to be much enmity among the people, and some stones were thrown at us. This disposition was probably raised by a letter written by Samuel Caldwell to Jacob Morgan, called lieutenant of Bucks County, in which we were informed by Daniel Levan, he represented we had refused to leave Pottsgrove, and were endeavouring to procure ourselves to be rescued, which they said was the cause of the armed men going to Pottsgrove to assist our guards in compelling us to come forward.

On our getting into the Widow Withington's, a house provided for us, we found ourselves made close prisoners. Guards were put round the house, and the face of every thing much changed. Our friends, Isaac Zane and James Starr, coming to the door to speak to us, were violently pulled away, struck, and stoned, the former of whom was considerably bruised and hurt.

Our friends were kept from us. Samuel Morris, who kindly sent us a dinner and some wine, soon after our arrival, being the only person admitted; for it did not appear any provision had been made for us. In the evening we were informed that our friends could freely see us to-morrow. About five o'clock we sat down together in retirement, and thought a cloud seemed to hang over us, yet some comfort and consolation was in mercy extended.

Reading, 15th of 9th month. — This morning Alexander Nesbitt set off for Philadelphia, as we apprehended to take advice respecting us; and we wrote by him to our families.

Our friend, Benjamin Lightfoot, sent us a plentiful dinner, and Edward Biddle, James Biddle, and Reynald Keen, furnished us with wine.

About four o'clock, Benjamin Bryant and Nathaniel Walker

returned with the writs of habeas corpus, which had been *allowed by Thomas M'Kean*, Chief Justice. Nathaniel Walker, after remaining some time with us, went toward the inn returning home to Pottsgrove, and was called by —— Nagel to take the tests, and on his declining to do it, he was committed to jail. As he was employed only in the execution of a legal process unknown to us, it appeared a cruel case. Proper care was taken to supply him with bedding, &c., and his case recommended to our friends. Isaac Zane, jun., came up from Philadelphia, and brought us letters from our friends, which were examined by Samuel Morris, who had the care of us, in the temporary absence of Samuel Caldwell.

Our supper this evening was sent us by Benjamin Lightfoot. Several of our friends had visited us during the day.

16th and 17th of 9th month.—In the evening Alexander Nesbitt came up and brought us letters. They brought up a printed bill, introduced into the House of Assembly on the 15th inst., and read twice and passed on the 16th, to justify the President and Council in their arbitrary and unjust proceedings against us. It was to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and deprive us and others from a trial, and the rights and privileges secured by the law to freemen.

It holds up a striking picture of the measures carrying on against the liberties of Pennsylvania, and we think it right to insert here a copy of it; as follows:

See the Pennsylvania Evening Post, vol. 3, No. 406. Thursday, September 18, 1777.

"Philadelphia.

"An Act to empower the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, to provide for the security thereof in special cases where no provision is already made by law.

"Whereas, the preservation of this State and all its members,

and of the army acting in support thereof, at the time of a hostile invasion, may require the immediate interposition of the Supreme Executive Council, when the judicial powers of the Government cannot, in the ordinary course of law, sufficiently provide for its security.

"And whereas, for this important purpose the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth have lately, at the recommendation of Congress, taken up several persons who have refused to give to the State the common assurance of their fidelity and peaceable behaviour, as required by law, and it is apprehended that there are still more such persons among us, who cannot at this juncture be safely trusted with their freedom without giving proper security to the public.

"Be it therefore enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that it may and shall be lawful for the President, or Vice-President, and the members of the Supreme Executive Council of this State, or any two of them, either upon the recommendation of Congress, or at the requisition of the commander-in-chief of the army, or the commander of a division or corps in the same, or upon the information of any credible subject of this or any other of the United States, to arrest any person or persons within this Commonwealth, who shall be suspected from any of his or her acts, writings, speeches, conversations, travels, or other behaviour, to be disaffected to the community of this, or all, or any of the United States of America, or to be an harbinger of the common enemy, who is at our gates, or give mediate or immediate intelligence and warning to their commanders, by letters, messengers, or tokens, or by discouraging people from taking up arms for the defence of the country, or spreading false news, or doing any other thing to subvert the good order and regulations which are or may be made and pursued for the safety of the country, and to seize and examine such papers in their possession as shall in any wise affect the public; and the same persons being arrested, to

confine or remove them to any distant place, where it will be out of their power to disturb the peace and safety of the States; or to tender to them the oath or affirmation of allegiance and fidelity to the State, as directed by law; and upon the taking and subscribing the same to enlarge them, or to demand and take such further and other security and assurance from them as the said President or Vice-President and Council, or any two of them, in their discretion shall think proper, or as the particular circumstances of the case may require.

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the President, Vice-President, and other members of the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, and all persons acting by their special command in the premises, shall be and are hereby fully and absolutely indemnified and saved harmless from all process, suits, and actions, that shall or may be hereafter sued, commenced, prosecuted, or brought against them, or any or either of them, for, or in respect of any of their orders or proceedings heretofore issued and had upon the recommendation of Congress, or which they shall hereafter issue, and have by virtue of this act. And that no judge or officer of the Supreme Court, or any inferior court within this Commonwealth, shall issue or allow of any writ of habeas corpus, or other remedial writ to obstruct the proceedings of the said Executive Council against suspected persons in this time of imminent danger to the State.

"Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall be in force to the end of the first sitting of the next General Assembly of this Commonwealth and no longer.

"Enacted into a law, the sixteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

"JOHN BAYARD,
"Speaker.

"JOHN MORRIS,
"Clerk of General Assembly."

Reading, 18th day of 9th month.—This morning Samuel Morris acquainted us we were to be sent off to-morrow to Winchester, in Virginia, and that no regard should be paid to the writs of habeas corpus.

As we were about to be delivered over to Jacob Morgan, Lieutenant of Berks County, we represented to him as follows:

1. That our stores needful for subsistence in travelling had not come on, nor our clothing, though by our letters they are on the road.

2. The two baggage-wagons which came with us have gone away; and no others provided in their place. The two additional ones promised by Thomas Mifflin, to carry the residue of the stores, have not come on.

3. Two of the travelling wagons which brought us have left us, and a third rendered useless. Four wagons ought to be added to those now here.

4. John Pemberton, one of the prisoners, is very much indisposed, and wholly unfit to be removed.

To which we never received any answers.

Soon in the day, Alexander Nesbitt and Jacob Morgan came to us, and Michael Hillegas and George Nagel were called in at our request as witnesses.

Alexander Nesbitt called over our names, and was about to deliver us to the care of Jacob Morgan, previous to which we served on him the last writs of habeas corpus, for eleven of our members, which being read and delivered in due form, in presence of said witnesses, he was charged in the name of us all, on his peril not to remove us in the manner they were about to do, but to pay due regard to the said writs. He nevertheless persisted, and delivered us over to the said Jacob Morgan. The said Michael Hillegas and George Nagel have certified the service of the said writs, as follows:

Henry Drinker,
Samuel Rowland Fisher,
Miers Fisher,

Habeas corpus directed to Samuel Caldwell, Alexander Nesbitt, Jacob Morgan, John Oldt,

Elijah Brown,	and Joseph Hutton, returnable
John Hunt,	forthwith before chief justice.
Owen Jones, jun., - - - - -	The like writ.
William Smith, (broker,) - - - -	The like writ.
Thomas Fisher, - - - - - -	The like writ.
Thomas Wharton, - - - - -	The like writ.
Edward Pennington, - - - - -	The like writ.
John Pemberton, - - - - - -	The like writ.

"The above writs were served on Alexander Nesbitt and Jacob Morgan, who then had the parties above named in their custody at Reading, in the county of Berks, in the presence of us. On this 18th day of September, 1777.

"Michael Hillegas.
"George Nagel."

On conversing with A. Nesbitt, we found he had some further instructions concerning us, which at our request, he read to us. This proved to be a new warrant, dated the sixteenth inst., signed by George Bryan, Vice-President; tested by Timothy Matlack, Secretary, and sealed with the lesser seal.

This afternoon, the two wagons from Philadelphia with the remainder of our stores arrived here.

Miers Fisher wrote a letter to Thomas M'Kean, Chief Justice, informing him of our situation, and sent it by Benjamin Bryant. The following is a copy.

Reading, September 18, 1777.

TO THOMAS M'KEAN, ESQ.

Respected Friend,

From Pottstown, I wrote thee a short note in behalf of myself and fellow-sufferers, requesting thee to allow writs of habeas corpus for eleven of us. The messengers, Benjamin Bryant and Nathaniel Walker, returned here on second day with them,

"*allowed.*" We are sorry to inform thee that some of the justices of this town ordered Nathaniel Walker, (a young man who offered his services voluntarily, and went with Benjamin Bryant without our knowledge as a guide and companion,) to be arrested and brought before them, and tendered him the "Test," and upon his declining to take it, committed him a close prisoner to the common jail.

We consider this to be a breach of that privilege which persons executing civil process are entitled to, and an insult to the office of Chief Justice, whose writ he was entrusted to serve. We recommend his case to thy notice, and doubt not but if thou should concur with us in opinion, thou will grant a supersedeas to his commitment, and permit him to return to his mother, at Pottsgrove.

We informed thee by those messengers, that our keepers were regularly served with the writs for those nine of us which were first applied for, and "*allowed.*" We now acquaint thee that this day, the writs for the remaining eleven were also served on Alexander Nesbitt and Jacob Morgan, as will appear by the inclosed certificate, signed by the gentlemen who attended as witnesses.

Alexander Nesbitt read us a paper, signed by the Secretary of Council, by which it appears he was ordered to deliver us here to Jacob Morgan and John Oldt, and by which they were directed to forward us from county to county, to Winchester, in Virginia, and accordingly, after calling us by name, delivered us to Jacob Morgan, and soon after left the town.

Jacob Morgan, upon being required to obey the writs, gave us for answer, that he knew the nature of writs of "habeas corpus," but that he had positive orders which he must obey. In this situation we now are, and have received notice to be ready to move forward toward Winchester to-morrow. We thought it to be our duty to acquaint thee with these circumstances, that thou might have an opportunity to take such steps as thou should think proper, either to enforce obedience to them, or evince to the world that no fault lays with thee.

We consider thy allowing these writs as a proof, not only of thy knowledge of the rights of freemen, but of thy desire to support them, as far as thy power extends, and as thou hast done thy part, and art entitled to the perquisites of thy office, we send by the bearer seventeen pounds ten shillings, being the sum to which twenty writs amount, at the rate of fees established by law.

We sincerely wish thy attention to the rights of mankind in this, and all other instances that may come before thee, and are thy real well-wishers. In behalf of my fellow-sufferers.

I am, with due respect, thy friend.

MIERS FISHER.

Reading, 20th of 9th month.—Nothing material took place yesterday, except that several Friends from Exeter and Maiden Creek came to see us, and brought us provisions. About noon, Jacob Morgan and Daniel Levan acquainted us we were to go off to-day; and Jacob Morgan delivered us over to Daniel Levan, read us the last warrant and instructions, dated the 16th inst., signed by George Bryan, respecting us, and promised us a copy of it.

William Lewis, Esq., who left Philadelphia in the morning, brought us letters, and an agreeable account of our several families.

21st of 9th month.—Most of our baggage being put in three wagons, and our stores in a fourth, we were ready to set off; but our friend, John Pemberton, having been much indisposed for several days past, and now not fit to be removed, though he was resigned to go or stay, the matter was mentioned to Daniel Levan, who was very kindly disposed, but on consulting with Shoemaker and Christ, they determined he should proceed, which unkind conduct needs no comment.

Most of us set off about ten o'clock, passed over the ford of Schuylkill, dined at Womelsdorf, and reached Lebanon before dark, where we were very kindly and courteously received, and entertained by the inhabitants and neighbours, who prepared for us.

Curtis Grubb, Esq., went about from house to house to see that we were treated with kindness, and desired to know if any person should attempt to treat us in an ungenteel manner, that he might call them to account. He acted in the station of lieutenant of Lancaster, having here a battalion of American troops under his command, who with some of the lower class of people did not seem kindly disposed towards us, yet by his attention they were kept quiet. In all parts of his behaviour, he seemed desirous to make our condition as easy as possible.

There are confined here about six hundred Hessians, and about three hundred more left the town two days ago for Winchester; these were of the Hessians taken at Trenton on the night of the 24th of 12th month last.

22d day of 9th month.—We left Lebanon about ten o'clock, dined at Hummeltown: while there several of our company went about a mile to see the great cave, a subterranean cavern supported internally by limestone rocks, through which the water dripping in many places, forms pillars, or petrifies. The water turns to stone any object on which it falls, as straw, leaves, &c.

We crossed the Swatara creek, and reached Harris's Ferry in the evening, where John Harris entertained us with the best he had; though our lodgings were by no means decent or clean. The house is of sixty-four feet front, and well built and finished.

We have passed, during the last three days through a very fertile country, between the North and South mountains.

28th day of 9th month.—About nine o'clock our four baggage wagons were driven into the Susquehanna River at the ford, about a mile over, and followed immediately by two one-horse chairs, seven of our company, and one of our servants on horseback; the next partly in two canoes, and partly in the carriages, attended by seven guards on horseback. We reached the western shore about eleven o'clock. The water, crossing, was about three feet in depth. On landing, we received a present of six large rockfish, sent us by William Patterson, who lives in the neighbourhood. We reached Carlisle about

four o'clock, where we met with an agreeable reception. We stopped at White's tavern, where several of the inhabitants came to see us; but the inn not affording sufficient accommodation, six of us accepted invitations to lodge out among the inhabitants, where we were very kindly entertained.

Carlisle, 24th and 25th of 9th month.—Unlading and adjusting our baggage; remained at the inn, &c. 25th, morning. Daniel Levan having let us know the wagons were ready again, our stores and baggage were put into them, to go off in the morning. We received a letter from Doctor Kearsly, now closely confined in the county jail, expressing a desire to see us; but as it could not be done without giving offence, we declined it, but sent him a verbal message by Charles Lukens.

We now demanded of Daniel Levan, copies of the papers he had related to us; and he left them with us for the purpose. They are as follows, certified by him.

"IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 10th, 1777.

"SIR,

"The subject of the present letter is the removal of several gentlemen of this city, by orders of Council, and of the State.

"They have uniformly manifested, in their general conduct and conversation, a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America. Their stay of course in this city, in the time of invasion and danger, is become highly improper.

"You will find by the enclosed instructions the place they are destined for, and the mode of removing them. Messrs. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell, two of the light horse militia of this city, with a party of City Guards on horseback, are the escort to Reading. These gentlemen will be able to inform you of the guard it will be proper to send forward.

"The first plan was to send a sufficient party of these light horse to Virginia, but the present approach of General Howe, calls them to camp. I therefore must request you to look out

for a person of humanity, good breeding, and firmness, to superintend the further conveyance of these gentlemen to Staunton, and to assist with a proper escort mounted on horseback.

"You may see by the instructions for this officer, which are enclosed, that all politeness towards the prisoners, and due attention to their comfort is desired; every charge from you on this head will doubtless be given.

"I send you by John Oldt, Esq., the sum of five hundred pounds, to be applied to defray the expenses of the journey. Messrs. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell have received the sum of one hundred pounds, for the same purpose, till the prisoners are delivered to you; they will pay you the remainder, after providing for their own charges homeward.

"You have also with this letter, an order directed to the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of Lancaster and Cumberland counties, to give you every necessary assistance, and Messrs. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell will deliver to you the despatches for the War Office of Congress, relative to their passage through Maryland and Virginia, and reception at Staunton. It will be proper that you add to these an open letter to the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of Lancaster and Cumberland counties, and all other officers of this State and elsewhere, attesting and certifying that your superintendent is the officer entrusted with this business.

"The light wagons must necessarily go on, and likewise the heavy ones, unless others are substituted. This information is given betimes, that no delay may take place at Reading.

"Thomas Wharton, Jr.,
"President."

Endorsed,

"To Colonel Jacob Morgan, Lieutenant of the County of Berks.

"A true copy, taken from and compared with the original.
"Daniel Levan, Jr.

"Carlisle, September 25th, 1777."

"IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 10th, 1777.

"SIR,

"The bearer hereof, Daniel Levan, Esq., is appointed by Colonel Jacob Morgan, to superintend an escort, conducting a number of disaffected persons to Staunton, in Virginia, by order of Council; any assistance which may be found necessary in this duty, you are hereby requested to afford them.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"GEORGE BRYAN,

"Vice-President.

"To the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland."

"A true copy, taken from the original.

"DANIEL LEVAN, JR.

"Carlisle, September 25th, 1777."

N. B.—This was sent to Reading with a blank space for the bearers' names, which was filled up by Jacob Morgan, with the name of Daniel Levan, Esq.

"IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 10th, 1777.

"Instructions to the gentlemen to whom Colonel Jacob Morgan, Lieutenant of Berks County, shall commit the charge of certain prisoners, sent from Philadelphia, for Staunton, in Virginia, under the conduct of Messrs. Alexander Nesbitt and ————————, who are to deliver them to the said Colonel Morgan, at Reading.

"You will proceed by the common road through Carlisle with these persons, to Staunton, in Augusta, in the State of Virginia.

You will send them with light, covered wagons, in such manner as not to be crowded. Your careful attendance throughout will be necessary. Every suitable accommodation should be procured for them on the way. But while you manifest politeness and tenderness, a proper degree of firmness and watchfulness will also be required.

"With these instructions, you have an order directed to the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of Lancaster and Cumberland counties, to aid you in all cases which may be needful.

"If the gentlemen prisoners, or any of them, prefer carriages provided by themselves, they are to be permitted to use them, but they are to keep them through the journey.

"When you get into Maryland and Virginia, you will look into the despatches from the War Office, and take directions from them.

"You will, we doubt not, in consequence, be assisted by the officers of these States, and on your arrival at Staunton, the prisoners are to be received and treated according to their stations.

"The proper sum of money will be advanced by Colonel Morgan, to defray the expenses of the gentlemen committed to your care. Of the escort, the wagons, and all other expenses, a regular account should be kept, and vouchers preserved.

"Here follows a list of the prisoners, to wit:

James Pemberton,
Miers Fisher,
John Pemberton,
Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Gilpin,
Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,)
Owen Jones, jun.,
Edward Pennington,
William Drewet Smith,
Charles Eddy,
Israel Pemberton,
John Hunt,
Thomas Pike,
Thomas Fisher,
Henry Drinker,
Elijah Brown,
William Smith, (broker,)
Thomas Wharton,
Charles Jervis,
Thomas Affleck.

"Extract from the minutes.

"Timothy Matlack,
"Secretary."

"A true copy, taken from and compared with the original.

"DANIEL LEVAN, Jun.

"Carlisle, September 25th, 1777."

"*Pennsylvania, ss.*

[LS.] "IN COUNCIL.

"Philadelphia, September 16, 1777.

"Whereas, Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,) John Hunt, Miers Fisher, Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Edward Pennington, Henry Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, Owen Jones, jun., Thomas Gilpin, Charles Jervis, Thomas Affleck, William Drewet Smith, Thomas Pike, William Smith, (broker,) Elijah Brown, and Charles Eddy, have, in consequence of the recommendation of Congress, been arrested by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, as persons whose uniform conduct and conversation has evidenced that they are highly inimical to the thirteen United States of North America, and to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in particular, they having also declined to give any assurance of allegiance to this State, as of right they ought; and whereas, it appears necessary for the public safety at this time, when the State is invaded by a large army of enemies, that the said persons and every of them should be removed from the county of Philadelphia and secured at some place remote from the army of the enemy.

George Bryan, Vice-President.

"These are, therefore, to authorize, and empower, and require Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, with proper necessary assistants, to receive the bodies of the said Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, John Hunt, Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Thomas Wharton, Owen Jones, jun., Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Affleck, Miers Fisher, Thomas Pike, Thomas Gilpin, William Drewet Smith, William Smith, (broker,) Elijah Brown, Edward Pennington, Henry Drinker, Charles Jervis, and Charles Eddy,

from Lewis Nicola, Esq., in whose keeping they have been holden, and them, and every of them to convey and conduct to Reading, in Berks County, and there to deliver to Jacob Morgan, Esq., Lieutenant of the said county of Berks, or to John Oldt, Esq., one of the sub-lieutenants of the said county of Berks. And you, the said Jacob Morgan, and you, the said John Oldt, or either of you, or by persons by you or either of you appointed, are hereby commanded and authorized to receive into your custody, or the custody of either of you, the bodies of the said Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, Edward Pennington, Henry Drinker, Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Miers Fisher, Thomas Gilpin, Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Owen Jones, Samuel Pleasants, Charles Jervis, Thomas Affleck, William Drewet Smith, Thomas Pike, William Smith, (broker,) Elijah Brown, and Charles Eddy, from the said Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, as aforesaid, and any and every of them the said persons represented as inimical and dangerous, with the aid and help of proper and effectual assistants, to convey and conduct to the town of Winchester, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, there to be secured and detained till further orders can be had concerning them, and meanwhile to be treated, as well on the road to Winchester as in and after arrival there, with all the humanity and attention their characters and stations require, not inconsistent with the securing of their persons. And the lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of the several counties of this State, and all officers of militia within the same, are hereby required to be aiding to the said Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, Jacob Morgan and John Oldt, and the persons employed by them in conveying and carrying the inimical and dangerous persons aforesaid, in the manner and to the place above mentioned.

Given under the Less Seal of the Common-
[L.S.] wealth of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, the day and year above written.

"Attest, TIMOTHY MATLACK,
"Secretary."

"A true copy, taken from the original, and compared therewith, per

"DANIEL LEVAN, Jun.

"Carlisle, September 25th, 1777."

"A list of the prisoners ordered by the Supreme Executive Council, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, to be removed to Staunton, in Augusta County, in the State of Virginia:

James Pemberton,	John Hunt,
Henry Drinker,	Charles Jervis,
Israel Pemberton,	William Drewet Smith,
John Pemberton,	Charles Eddy,
Samuel Pleasants,	Thomas Pike,
Thomas Wharton,	Owen Jones, Jr.,
Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,)	Edward Pennington,
Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,)	William Smith, (broker,)
Miers Fisher,	Elijah Brown,
Thomas Gilpin,	Thomas Affleck.

"TIMOTHY MATLACK,

"Secretary.

"Philadelphia, September 10th, 1777."

"War Office, September 10th, 1777.

"The within-mentioned persons, prisoners, taken and confined by the Honourable, the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, will be guarded through this State, on their way to Staunton, in Augusta County, in Virginia, where they are directed to reside, and to which place they are to be safely conveyed by direction of the said Council; but after passing the limits of this State, the lieutenants of the counties, or commanding officers of the militia of the several counties in the States of Maryland and Virginia, adjacent to, or through which the road to Staunton runs, are desired to furnish proper guards, from time to time, within the several jurisdictions, as occasion may require, taking care that no unnecessary delay is used, and exercising every

indulgence towards the prisoners consistent with the safety of their persons. Every means is to be used to expedite the journey. The officers of the guards, from time to time, will see that the prisoners are treated agreeably to their characters and behaviour, but will prevent their spreading abroad any papers through the country, or by other means, under the mask of justifying themselves, disseminating sedition, discord, and uneasiness among the good people of these States. These orders to be delivered over by the officer first receiving it, to his successor, and finally to be lodged with the lieutenant or commanding officer of militia, in Augusta County, Virginia, together with the letter directed to him.

"By order of the Board of War.

"Richard Peters,

"Secretary."

"Reading, September 17th, 1777.

"As I have seen the orders of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, who have had the management of this business, whereby it appears the prisoners are not to proceed to Staunton, I have detained the letter to the lieutenant of Augusta, mentioned above, and as no doubt Congress have sent orders for their being detained at Winchester, the lieutenant of the county will be pleased to regulate himself by any order of Congress which may be produced by him, if no such order appears. The above directions are to be pursued.

"Richard Peters,

"Secretary at War."

"A true copy, taken from and compared with the original.

"Daniel Levan, Jr.

"Carlisle, September 25th, 1777."

"GENTLEMEN,—

"The President and Council, by a special warrant, under the less seal of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to me directed, have ordered the removal of several gentlemen from this place to Winchester, in Virginia, there to remain under a proper guard, until further orders. They have uniformly manifested in their general character and conversation, a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America. [L.S.]

"These are, therefore, to attest and certify that I have nominated, constituted, and appointed Daniel Levan, Jr., Esq., High Sheriff of Berks County, in the said Commonwealth, the officer and superintendent of the said business.

"And I do hereby, in pursuance of certain powers to me given, earnestly request and desire the lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant, and all other officers, civil and military, in this State and elsewhere, to be aiding and assisting in the removal of the said gentlemen to Winchester aforesaid. And that all politeness to the prisoners and due attention to their comfort is earnestly required.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Reading, in the county of Berks, the 20th day of September, A. D. 1777.

"JACOB MORGAN,
"Lieutenant."

"To all lieutenants, sub-lieutenants, and other officers, civil and military, in the State of Pennsylvania, and elsewhere."

Endorsed:

"To the lieutenants, sub-lieutenants, and all other officers, civil and military, in the Thirteen United States of America.

"DANIEL LEVAN, JR."

From these papers may be easily seen the irregular manner in which the Council proceeded through this whole business.

An order was made for our removal, and delivered to

Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell, a copy of which we have not procured. That only related to our journey as far as Reading. From thence we were to be taken to Staunton by virtue of the papers dated September 10th, by which it appears that Council gave power to Jacob Morgan to choose our conductor, and fill up a blank space left in the warrant in his appointment with his name.

When the writs of habeas corpus were served on our keepers at Pottsgrove, they were at a loss what to do, and the Council equally puzzled. Yet, determined to blunder through the matter, issued the warrant dated the 16th, which is directed to our keepers at Philadelphia, and commands them to remove us to Reading, though we had been removed five days before it was dated. The intention in this jumble of inconsistencies was, probably, to supersede the writs of habeas corpus by a warrant of a later date, which they apprehended would more readily be obeyed than the writs; to insure which, they procured the Assembly to publish an intended act to indemnify all persons acting contrary to law under their authority.

This bill, though not known at that time to be enacted into a law, had the desired effect, and induced the lieutenant of Berks to send us forward.

The alteration of our residence, from Staunton to Winchester, we understand was made at the instance of Isaac Zane, Jr., without our knowledge; but the latter warrant containing no countermand of former orders, our keepers thought it necessary to apply to Richard Peters, who happened to be at Reading. He undertook, without consulting the Board of War, to write the note dated the 17th, at the foot of the directions from that office, and to detain the letter respecting us, directed to the lieutenant of Augusta County, not certainly knowing that we should be stopped at Winchester, and without giving any instructions to the lieutenant, or to any other person there concerning us.

Carlisle, 26th of 9th month.—We all put forward before eight o'clock, being joined by two additional guards. We met

with no insult during our stay at Carlisle, but on our leaving it, a number of armed men, who were on their way to the camp, and one of them, who presented his gun at most of us, made use of abusive and threatening language. We dined seven miles from Carlisle, at Robert Semple's inn; he treated us kindly, and we set off early and reached Shippensburg at four o'clock, where we had very good quarters.

We were confirmed here in an account we had at Lebanon, that a malicious and false representation of us and of our Society, by an anonymous writer, which had been published in Bradford's paper before we left Philadelphia, had been reprinted in a handbill by William and Thomas Bradford, and sent into this part of the country to deceive people, and encourage them against us. It is worthy of thankful remembrance, that as we were setting together this evening, our minds were drawn into a solemn quiet and peace, and we had renewed cause to trust in our Great Preserver, whose good presence was sensibly felt among us.

In Thomas Gilpin's Journal, he writes, "Very false ideas and information are spread through the country concerning us, by which people are grossly imposed upon, and made to believe that we are the cause of distress and bloodshed, instead of those who are *really* the cause of it; and which false opinion ought to be set right."

27th. — We left Shippensburg about eight o'clock, and reached Henry Pauling's, twenty-four miles, at night; on our way we stopped at Chamberstown to dinner, but there was none to be had. We fed the horses, and got some bread and cheese out of our wagons. Henry Pauling's was a private house, but small; he treated us very kindly. We had to obtain lodging through the neighbourhood. Most of our guards were also dispersed. Four of us, John Hunt, Thomas Wharton, Thomas Fisher, and Miers Fisher, went three miles off the road to Dr. Kneavely's tavern. Henry Drinker and Samuel Pleasants, to William Allison's. Thomas Gilpin to the Widow

Smith's. The remainder of the company well accommodated, though several of them laid on straw before the fire.

28th day of 9th month.—This morning, the four persons who were at Dr. Kneavely's went forward, and at about four miles, met with most of the guards at a house on the road, where they had lodged, and concluded to go on to Watkins's Ferry, at the Potomac River, to make what provisions they could for the company, expecting us all to dine there.

They stopped at the house on the north side, where the landlord absolutely refused to receive the company, but said they could be accommodated at the house on the south side. While the horses were crossing the ford, Adam Drinkhouse, one of the guards, overtook them, to stop them; the rest came up, but on representing what had passed at the ferry-house, he crossed the river with them, to wait on the south side. But there was no provision made; every thing was in a wretched state, and so continued from place to place, being at several other places refused admittance, till they came to a tavern about twenty miles on, called the Red House, kept by Robert Watts, where they got some refreshment. Some of the company, John Pemberton and others, who stayed at Pauling's last night, were not satisfied to go on, but stopped at the line of Maryland, about three and a half miles, to see the sheriff, and make a protest at being taken out of the State of Pennsylvania, and from thence to go into Virginia, which they did before witnesses. The witnesses were Henry Pauling and William Atkinson, jun., and the persons protested against were, William Lower, Leonard Thomas, who acted as guards at Chamberstown, and Beamer, the schoolmaster.

We sent for our friend Edward Beason, who lives about half a mile further, who came with Lewis Walker; and our friends Edward Pennington, Owen Jones, jun., William Smith, S. R. Fisher, Thomas Affleck, Charles Eddy, Charles Jervis, Elijah Brown, James Pemberton, and Thomas Gilpin, came up, and at the Red House, E. Beason's, and Lewis Walker's, sixteen of us were lodged.

29th.—Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, Henry Drinker, and Samuel Pleasants, had stayed at Robert Watts's. They, together with Thomas Pike and William Drewet Smith, protested at Henry Pauling's, near the line of Maryland, and at Eli Williams's, on the north side of the Potomac, against being sent out of Pennsylvania into Maryland, and thence into Virginia, and against the force used to take them.

We sent off a person to our friend Isaac Zane, to inform him of our coming, and having dined at about twelve miles, reached Winchester at about six o'clock, where we were conducted to the Inn of Philip Bush. Thomas Gilpin, Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher, and Miers Fisher, went to Rachael Hollingsworth's to lodge.

In the evening we met with Isaac Zane, jun. John Smith, Lieutenant of Frederick County, Colonel and Lieutenant-Sheriff M'Levan, and Colonel Lowther came to see us.

Daniel Levan delivered to Lieutenant John Smith, the several papers respecting us. They were read in his hearing, and some remarks were made. The Lieutenant offered to give us the liberty of the town if we would promise not to converse with the people on any political subject.

In answer to this, we told him that our principles restrained us from joining in any party strife, contention, or wars; but as we did not fully understand the extent of his restrictions, it would be better for us to consider about them. In the course of our conversation he assured us he did not mean to restrict us from justifying ourselves.

In regard to the papers delivered him, he remarked they were very much confused, and did not contain such directions as would authorize him to take charge of us, as he did not look upon himself obliged to obey any orders of Congress or the Council of Pennsylvania, unless he had the sanction of the executive powers of this government.

This evening, a packet, directed to the Lieutenant of Augusta County, endorsed "War Office, on Public Service," and sent forward by our escort from Reading, was opened in the pre-

sence of some of us, when it was found to contain nothing but a Philadelphia newspaper, replete with malicious forgeries and falsehoods, all of which were manifestly intended to prejudice the minds of the people and lay us open to insult and abuse.

As we could not all be accommodated with lodgings at Philip Bush's, Henry Drinker and Charles Eddy went to Benjamin Shreeve's, William Smith and Elijah Brown, to Frederick Conrad's, and Thomas Gilpin, Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher, and Miers Fisher, to Rachael Hollingsworth's, about a mile out of town.

RESIDENCE AT WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA.

Winchester, 30th of 9th month.—On considering the manner of our being sent here, and our present situation, we thought it necessary to draw up some queries for the consideration of John Smith, which having agreed to were accordingly delivered to him, and are as follows:

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, now at Philip Bush's, think it proper to inform the Lieutenant of the County of Frederick of some circumstances attending their removal from Pennsylvania, and to propose to his consideration others which relate to their future situation.

They were arrested in their dwellings in and near the city of Philadelphia, and confined some days, by the order of the President and Supreme Council of the State of Pennsylvania.

They remonstrated repeatedly to them the injustice of the proceeding, and, asserting their innocence, demanded a hearing as the inherent right of every freeman, but could obtain none. They were ordered to be *sent to Virginia unheard.* In order to avail themselves hereafter, they protested regularly against all the proceedings respecting them as *arbitrary, unjust, and unwarranted by any law.* They were removed from their families by force, (after having again protested against

all the actors under the President and Council,) to Reading, where writs of habeas corpus *allowed by the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, were served on their keepers, who refused to obey them.* They were removed from thence to S. Pauling's, near the line of Maryland, where they again protested against the power of their keepers to carry them beyond that line. They were then brought to the State of Virginia, where they protested in the same manner. All these protests were regularly made in the presence of witnesses.

Thus far they thought it their duty to acquaint the Lieutenant of Frederick, and at the same time acknowledge the politeness he has shown in the conferences they had with him. They now propose to him the following questions, the answers to which they request him to give them in writing, viz.:

1st. Whether he conceives from the papers delivered to him by Daniel Levan and Isaac Zane, that they are the prisoners of Congress, or of the Council of Pennsylvania, or prisoners of war?

2d. Whether, if he deems them prisoners of Congress, he has any authority to take charge of them?

3d. Whether, if he deems them prisoners of the Council of Pennsylvania, do any of the papers give him authority to take charge of them?

4th. If he considers himself authorized to take charge of them, whether he will provide for their comfortable accommodation at Winchester, according to their character and stations, as the papers referred, to direct?

Winchester, 30th of 9th month, 1777.

Several of our friends having called to see us last evening and this morning, we were informed it had given great offence. This laid us under the disagreeable necessity of requesting them to discontinue their visits until the people should be reconciled to our being here, but this did not appear to be the case. We believed it owing to the conduct of our guards, who prejudiced the minds of the people before under wrong impressions.

A number of armed men, said to be about thirty, collected about noon at the door of our lodgings, demanding our immediate removal. But after some time, and several proposals, it was agreed that we should confine ourselves to the house, and have no communication with any of the inhabitants. A guard was placed at the door by Lieutenant John Smith, and in a few hours he acquainted us he had prevailed on the people to suffer us to remain till he could write to Congress and the Governor of Virginia, for further directions concerning us.

We collected together this evening in a degree of retirement and religious quiet, and advice was dropped exciting us to a steady reliance on the arm of Almighty Power, under every afflicting and trying dispensation.

Our whole company is accommodated this evening at Philip Bush's, with the help of our own bedding.

This day, about three hundred Hessians, (of those taken at Trenton, by General Washington,) sent by Isaac Zane from Lebanon, were drawn up and parcelled out to the country people to work; some sent to the public works, by which they are gainers, as they have their pay from the Crown of England, and are paid also by the people for their work here.

This scheme, or plan, has many consequences. There are six hundred more of them at Lebanon, and they are hired out at $7 50 per month, to be returned when called for.

Winchester, 1st of 10th month, 1777.—This morning, after a further conference with the Lieutenant, John Smith, he proposed to write to the Governor of Virginia and Congress, for directions concerning us; and we were to do so also, each showing the letters to the other. Thomas Wharton, Edward Pennington, James Pemberton, and Miers Fisher, were appointed to prepare an address to the Governor and Council of Virginia, and a remonstrance to Congress, to go with John Smith's letters.

About noon, Daniel Levan and John Smith attended. John Smith repeated what he had said before, concerning the papers,

and refusing to take charge of us, but he concluded to accept a conditional charge over us, and he gave a receipt, which Daniel Levan gave us the substance of, as follows:

Daniel Levan, jun., had offered to deliver into the charge of John Smith, Lieutenant of Frederick County, Virginia, the several persons, (whose names are mentioned,) but he cannot deliver them as prisoners, from the confused manner in which the papers concerning them are drawn up, as well as the present disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Winchester. He therefore agrees to place a guard over them till further instructions can be had from the Governor of Virginia.

The following are copies of two letters ordering our being stopped at Winchester, delivered to us by Isaac Zane.

"Philadelphia, 17th of September, 1777.

"SIR,—

"A new application has been made to Congress on behalf of the prisoners who are gone for Staunton, in Virginia.

"It is represented that at Winchester they may be more comfortably accommodated and equally well secured. In my former letters on this subject, Winchester or Augusta were proposed. Congress fixed on Staunton. They doubtless had their reasons; but if it now appears proper to stop them at Winchester, directions from your body to the Board of War, can dispose matters accordingly; for it is a matter of indifference to Council.

"I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"THOMAS WHARTON, jun.,

"President.

"JOHN HANCOCK, ESQ."

"To the County Lieutenant of Frederick County, Virginia, and to the commanding officer who has charge of the above prisoners.

"The Continental Board of War have directed me to communicate to you their consent, that the said prisoners be stopped at Winchester, and there accommodated according to former instructions.

"JOHN ADAMS,
"Chairman.

"Philadelphia, September 13, 1777."

John Smith, the Lieutenant, gave us a copy of his letter to the Congress, which contains some matters injurious to the Society in general; those parts being remarked upon by John Hunt, Henry Drinker, and James Pemberton, he made some alterations, and allowed us to take a copy, which is as follows:

"Virginia, Frederick, Winchester, October 1st, 1777.

"SIR,—

"Two days since, the Sheriff of Berks County, in the State of Pennsylvania, arrived at this place with charge of a number of prisoners, sent by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, with the approbation of Congress, to the care of the Lieutenant of this county.

"The peculiar situation of these prisoners has left me at a loss what part to take. On examining the papers addressed to the sheriff, I found the orders so exceedingly confused that I could not discover upon what terms the prisoners should be received, nor in what manner they were to be supported during their continuance here.

"The sheriff informed me *they were sent to Winchester at the public expense;* and the prisoners expected to be maintained in the same manner while in confinement. *As I have received no orders* sufficiently positive *to make such provisions*, and as it is contrary to the usual mode of treating men of their order in this State, *I have refused to make any such engagement*, nor *can I say that I have received the prisoners agreeably to any order whatever*, my reasons for which I hope will be a sufficient excuse.

"The inhabitants in this part of the country are, in general, much exasperated against the whole Society of Quakers. The people were taught to suppose these people were Tories, and the leaders of the Quakers,—and two more offensive stigmas, in their estimation, could not be fixed upon men; in short, they determined not to permit them to remain in Winchester, for fear of their holding a correspondence with the Friends of the adjoining counties.

"*It was with the utmost exertion of my influence with an enraged multitude, that I prevented the greatest violence being offered to these men*, and that only upon a promise that they should be continued here no longer than Congress should give orders for their removal.

"These, sir, have been the reasons which have induced me to write to Congress upon the subject; for *I can assure you their lives will be endangered by their staying at Winchester.* I have sent you a copy of such orders as I have received, and a list of the prisoners' names.

"I shall write to Governor Henry and acquaint him with what has been done in respect of the prisoners, so that whatever orders Congress shall think proper to make, the sanction of the executive power of this State, I presume, will be ready to receive them here.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN SMITH,

"Lieutenant of Frederick County.

"*In justice to the prisoners I can but inform you that their behaviour, since they have been at this place, has truly been inoffensive, and such as could give umbrage to no person whatever.*

"To the Honourable John Hancock, Esquire."

In the afternoon the committee reported an essay of a remon-

strance to Congress, which was corrected and to be ready to accompany John Smith's letter; it being as follows:

"Winchester, 1st day of 10th month, 1777.

"TO THE CONGRESS.

"The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of Philadelphia, now confined under strict guard in the town of Winchester, sheweth:

"That in pursuance of your recommendation, we have been taken up on suspicion of being dangerous men, inimical to our country, and holding correspondence with the British army. The truth of which we have heretofore, and yet do utterly deny.

"That the President and Council of Pennsylvania, upon your information, and as we have cause to believe, with your concurrence, have banished us to a part of this Continent of which we have heard very disagreeable accounts, but which, from our short experience, far exceeds the description.

"The lieutenant of this county has informed us that the orders he has received respecting us are not such as required his taking charge of or providing a support for us, but that, from the disposition of the people towards us, he has, out of regard for our personal safety, undertaken to protect us, until further instructions from you, confirmed by the executive power from whom he derives his authority, be obtained.

"In this difficult situation we now find ourselves among strangers, whose passions and prejudices have been excited against us; who, from the manner of our being sent here, are impressed with a notion that we have been convicted of some heinous offences, and cannot be persuaded that any public body in America, would so severely punish men on bare suspicion, and who disclaim the right of the Council of Pennsylvania to send persons so circumstanced out of their own government.

"And we here think proper to mention a fact that has come

to our knowledge, which of itself shows the rancour we have been persecuted with, and our safety endangered. A packet, directed to the lieutenant of one of the counties, who was to have the charge of us, sent forward by our escort, and endorsed, 'War Office, on public service,' was opened in our presence, and was found to contain nothing but a newspaper fraught with anonymous falsehoods and forgeries, tending to render us odious in the eyes of the people.

"Had the President and Council meant only to secure our persons, and prevented our correspondence, as they pretended to fear, we should have thought places might have been found for that purpose without endangering our lives.

"If you or the Council were ignorant of the state of this country, it might be some apology for sending us here; and your withdrawing us from it upon hearing our danger, will show the sincerity of those declarations you have made in favour of us, with respect to the treatment you wished us to receive.

"At the time we were forced from our families we were preparing a remonstrance to you; from a calm consideration whereof we expected a just and honourable result. We had therein stated, and we now repeat it, that having the authority of your recommendation to the Council to give us a hearing, we expected an opportunity of defending ourselves against the general charge you were pleased to exhibit against us of 'having by our general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America;' we have no doubt we should have been able to remove 'every suspicion entertained against us,' had the right of citizens been allowed us; but we were refused a hearing without any other reason than a re-assertion of their unjust suspicions: a mode of proceeding which would criminate all innocent men!

"It will be needless to go through the many arguments we have already used to the Council and yourselves. It is sufficient to remind you that we are reduced to our present dangerous situation by your means; and as the Council have no

pretence of jurisdiction in this place, on the principles of justice and humanity, you ought to extricate us from it.

"We therefore, in the name of our fellow-citizens, of our families, of ourselves, and of every obligation by which mankind are bound to each other, call upon you to remove those difficulties of which you have been the primary cause, to reinstate us in that situation we were in when by your concurrence, and by the concurrence of your Committee for War, we were removed from the country in which our supposed offences, if any, must have been committed, and where alone they are cognizable; and to do us that justice which the President and Council, who began the attack upon us, could not be influenced to by their regard to the rights of mankind, or your recommendation.

"If you entertain those opinions in reality you have so often uttered in your publications in favour of liberty, so far from being offended at the freedom we use in addressing you in its favour, our cause will derive credit from the firmness with which we have thought proper to assert it. On the contrary, if you are determined to support the Council in the unjust and illegal steps they have taken to carry your first recommendation into execution, by continuing us in a country so dangerous to our personal safety, we shall commit ourselves to the protection of an all-wise overruling Power, in whose sight we trust we shall stand in this matter acquitted, and who, if any of us should lose our lives, will require our blood at your hands.

Israel Pemberton,	Thomas Gilpin,
John Pemberton,	Charles Jervis,
James Pemberton,	Charles Eddy,
Samuel Pleasants,	William Drewet Smith,
Thomas Pike,	John Hunt,
Owen Jones, Jr.,	Edward Pennington,
Thomas Affleck,	Thomas Wharton,
Thomas Fisher,	Henry Drinker,
Samuel R. Fisher,	Elijah Brown,
Miers Fisher,	William Smith, (broker.)"

2d day of 10th month.—The committee reported an essay of an address to the Governor and Council of Virginia, which was signed; and a letter was written, signed by Thomas Wharton and Samuel Pleasants, to introduce the address to the Governor, ready to be forwarded. It is as follows:

"TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA.

"The address and memorial of the subscribers, citizens of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, now confined at Winchester, in Virginia, respectfully sheweth:

"That we were taken from our families and brought to this place, by order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, in a manner not heretofore known in any free country, *without being heard in our defence!*

"Upon our arrival here, Daniel Levan, who commanded the escort conducting us from Reading, delivered to the lieutenant of this county, sundry papers from the President and Council of Pennsylvania, and the Continental Board of War, containing directions concerning our confinement; copies of the most material of which we herewith present to you.

"Before our departure from Philadelphia, we applied to the Council among other things, to know to whose custody we were to be committed when here, and what directions were to be given concerning us; and were informed that the Governor of Virginia would have the charge of, and directions concerning us.

"We therefore apprehended it to be our duty to ourselves, and to the country in which we are appointed to reside, to state to you the situation we are in, and to claim that protection which the rights of hospitality, and the common right of mankind entitle us to, in a country where we are strangers.

"Our case is briefly this. We were apprehended by virtue of a general warrant, signed by the Vice-President in Council, and confined some days. Some of our houses were entered and

our desks and other repositories broken, and our papers searched in our absence to furnish evidence against us.

"We applied to the Council by remonstrance, to know the charge or suspicions against us, and demanded *our right to be heard;* instead of granting this, they ordered us to be sent to Staunton, in Augusta County, Virginia, *unheard.*

"We applied to Congress, (whom they said had recommended the measures,) for their interference in our behalf. They recommended to Council to give us a hearing.

"We remonstrated again to Council, repeating our demand of a hearing, before we should be condemned to banishment.

"To evade this demand, they tendered us, as the condition of our enlargement, tests, which they were not authorized by the laws of Pennsylvania to offer us!

"We again remonstrated to them and insisted on our right to be heard!

"Disregarding our demands and alike unable to support any accusation against us, they served us with a copy of a peremptory resolve to send us to Virginia!

"Against this extraordinary proceeding we made a solemn protest, which was presented to them.

"We sent to the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, who resides at a considerable distance from Philadelphia, for writs of habeas corpus ad subjiciendum, which being our indisputable right, he readily allowed; but before they could be served we were hurried from our families, at a critical time of danger, and carried to Reading, in the County of Berks, in Pennsylvania. At that place the writs of habeas corpus were served on our keepers, who absolutely refused to obey them, and sent us from stage to stage, to this place!

"After we had left Philadelphia, application was made, without our knowledge, to change the place of our destination from Staunton, Virginia; which, from the warrant for removal, dated 16th day of last month, we find was accordingly directed.

"Notwithstanding the many expressions contained in the several papers sent with us, requiring attention to be paid to

our comfortable accommodations and humane treatment, we have abundant reason to believe that endeavours have been used to excite prejudices against us in the minds of the people, as well in the counties through which we were to pass, as in those fixed on for our residence, not only by sending forward publications in handbills and newspapers, containing malicious forgeries and falsehoods, but by the verbal misrepresentations of some of our conductors, while the papers published in vindication of our characters, with printers' names to the title and our own subscribed, have been attempted to be suppressed, under colour of preventing us from disseminating 'sedition and discord.'

"It is not to be wondered at that such means should produce the effects we have experienced since our arrival here, for although the Lieutenant of this county has behaved to us with humanity and politeness, yet such have been the prejudices and jealousies entertained of us by the people, that it has scarcely been in his power to restrain them from removing us forcibly out of the country. By his address and good management, however, the minds of the people have been in some degree pacified, and we understand it is now concluded we shall remain here, in close confinement, in a private house, with guards at the doors, until further orders can be obtained respecting us from Congress and the executive power of Virginia.

"We apprehend that common justice requires that every man who is accused should be heard, and, although confinement is in some cases necessary for a time, until such hearing can be had, yet we know not of any instance, in the history of our own or any free country, of even the most atrocious offenders being sent into banishment before conviction, or of being otherwise confined by them, but merely to secure their appearance. With what propriety the President and Council have acted in thus punishing us, by separating us from our tenderest connexions, in this time of increasing distress and calamity, when our presence and assistance were essentially necessary, we leave to their own consciences in the cool hour

of reflection, to inform them. From you, though for the most part strangers, we look for more justice and humanity.

"We therefore earnestly request you will take our suffering case into your consideration, and as we are brought here against our will, without the authority of any public body, or persons having a right to interfere in the internal police of this government, that you will not add to our oppressions by permitting us to be removed to any place more distant from our distressed families; that you will use such measures as you shall think most proper to secure us a hearing before some tribunal which has the power to discharge us, if no cause of confinement should appear against us; that in the mean time you would direct our imprisonment to be made more easy than the limits of a house: our well-known principles and conduct heretofore, as well as during our present sufferings, have evidently shown this to be an unnecessary restraint; that you would give directions for our protection from the misguided zeal of those whose passions have been raised by insinuations unjust in themselves, and uncredited by the authors of them; and that you will provide for our comfortable subsistence during our residence here, according to the assurances we received in Philadelphia, and the tenor of the papers accompanying us. Upon the whole, we do solemnly declare that we are altogether innocent of giving any occasion for those malicious insinuations which have been propagated against us, and held out as the cause of our persecution. And in order that you may be better able to judge concerning us, we beg your serious perusal of a narrative of our case herewith sent, which contains the substance of what passed during our confinement in Philadelphia, between the Congress, the Council, and ourselves.

"We had prepared another paper in vindication of our characters, and to manifest the falsehood of divers publications against us, but had not time to complete it before our removal.

"The firm manner in which we have demanded our rights, and the reluctance we have shown in parting with our liberty, will, we hope, be forcible evidence in our favour, and suspend

the opinions of all candid persons until the charge founded on our 'general conduct and conversation' is properly inquired into.

"May true wisdom guide you in your deliberations in this and on every other occasion.

"We are your real friends,

Elijah Brown,	Thomas Pike,
Owen Jones, jun.,	Thomas Affleck,
William Smith, (broker,)	William Drewet Smith,
Samuel R. Fisher,	Thomas Wharton,
Miers Fisher,	Edward Pennington,
Charles Eddy.	Israel Pemberton,
Thomas Fisher,	John Hunt,
Thomas Gilpin,	James Pemberton,
Charles Jervis,	John Pemberton,
Samuel Pleasants,	Henry Drinker."

"Winchester, 1st day of 10th month, 1777."

The foregoing address was read to John Smith, who said he had no objection to it, and would forward it with his letter, which he promised to show us before it was sent.

3d day of 10th month.—The light wagons have been discharged by Samuel Levan, without being paid or leaving any money with them to defray their expenses going home. He has gone away with his guard.

A letter was written by Israel Pemberton and others to our friends Robert Pleasants and Edward Stabler, to enclose a copy of our address to John Smith; and he gave us permission to read his letter respecting us, to the Governor of Virginia, which was very suitably expressed in regard to us, and our perilous situation, and the danger we are and may be in.

Thomas Gilpin wrote to his brother George Gilpin, Colonel of the Fairfax militia, now near Philadelphia, and delivered the letter to Isaac Zane.

The Rev. John Hogg, of the Presbyterian Church, came to our house, but did not come in: he has great influence with the people, and they treat him with great respect. Joseph Keith, Clerk of the County, came to see us: he is an affable, pleasant man.

Since our confinement, our guards state they are dissatisfied with their employment and our situation, most of them being pressed into this service out of the country, for various distances of twenty miles around, and have been taken from their families when their labour was essentially necessary to their farms and seeding. This day, Isaac England, son of Samuel England, of Nottingham, a member of our Society, was compelled to leave his employment, about five miles off, and placed as a guard over us, at one of the doors, though he steadily refused to touch the musket, and said, in the hearing of the other guards, we might go where we would, he would not detain us. Yet they made him take his turn as a guard to us yesterday and to-day.

Esquire Rutherford came to see us. He is one of the Assembly of Virginia. He lives about twenty miles from here, and also Alexander White, a lawyer. We had some conversation with them, and they seem very kindly disposed to us. Many prisoners, chained two together, are brought from Pittsburg.

5th day of 10th month, 1777.—The first day of the week. At 10 o'clock, we had a very solid meeting for religious worship in the morning. John Hunt preached largely and John Pemberton appeared in prayer. Philip Bush, his wife, and several of our guards attended.

We had another meeting at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when Lieutenant John Smith sat with us also; the Widow Jollop's son, the Widow Hollingsworth's son and daughter, and four or five other Friends were permitted to sit with us; our landlord and his wife, and many of the guards came to the window.

This evening, a Baltimore paper was brought us, giving an account of a great advantage the Americans have gained over General Burgoyne.

6th day of 10th month.—Several of us walked out, liberty being given, but to be attended by a guard, the captain of which, John Wolfe, communicated to us written orders for his government, of which he gave us liberty to take a copy, as follows:

"The commanding officer of the guard will please to observe that no person be allowed to converse with the prisoners at Mr. Bush's, without Mr. Bush's approbation. Should the prisoners be inclined to walk, one sentinel may attend them as far as the spring, observing the above directions, that they do not converse with any others than themselves.

"JOHN SMITH."

From the time of our first coming till now, we have only been allowed to walk in Philip Bush's garden. This evening, Thomas Wharton, Thomas Gilpin, and five others, took a walk around of about two miles with a guard.

10th.—Several of our company walked out to-day with some of our guards unarmed. Samuel Pleasants called on John Harvie, Esq., whom they saw yesterday.

In the course of conversation, John Harvie said that John Smith told him that the riot which took place the evening of our coming here was fomented with a design to prevent us from going out to have any communication with our friends, because we were persons of so much influence at home, in our own Society, that being separated at Winchester from the young men, they would be more likely to unite in their measures and join the army.

11th day of 10th month.—This morning, Edward Pennington and Henry Drinker, who had been appointed, waited on John Harvie, Esq., by whom they were received with much openness and friendly attention.

Upon the whole he assured us of his good opinion of our Society, as far as his knowledge of it extended, and that he was convinced of the injustice of denying us a hearing.

Our old guards went away, and took leave of us in a very

kind feeling and disposition. One said he would not begrudge ten pounds out of his own pocket to have us set at liberty. They all agreed there was no occasion for guarding us; that they believed we had been wronged.

12th day of 10th month, first day of the week.—We have had no guard since yesterday. This being the first day of the week, a meeting was held this morning at 10 o'clock. It was attended, in addition to our own company, by most of the family of our landlord, eight who were appointed as our new guard, and several strangers. They sat most part of the meeting, four of them all the time. It was stated that worship was frequently performed in awful silence. They seemed to behave with great quietude and consideration. After the meeting was over, some of them informed Colonel Kennedy they would go home; he told them they would be fined. One said he was able to pay it, and went away.

In the afternoon our meeting was attended at 4 o'clock. A number of Friends of the neighbourhood, and some persons not members of our Society, sat with us; and the everlasting Gospel was preached to them.

13th.—No guards over us to-day. As Lieutenant John Smith has left this place, and the charge of us devolves on David Kennedy, with whom we are but little acquainted, we thought it prudent to remain quietly together at our lodgings.

About three hundred more prisoners were brought here under guard of 70 or 80 soldiers. They are all foreigners, English and Scotch. Peter Bush is allowed 12*d.* per day, for boarding them.

Doctor William Drewet Smith, got permission from Colonel David Kennedy to go any where in the town or country to see patients, and to take an assistant with him; his permission was given in writing, and being called upon, he was usually engaged from time to time in professional service.

15th day of 10th month, 4th day of the week.—At our morning meeting, the excellency of true fellowship, and living under the banner of love, which would preserve us in near union and Christian fellowship, was seasonably and feelingly

spoken to; and as some of our friends had been preserved through the perils of a long journey, to return in peace and safety to their families, it was adverted to as worthy all our grateful acknowledgments to the Father of Mercies.

An application was made by one of our company to Colonel David Kennedy, for the privilege of walking a few miles round the town, and we had it principally in view to find suitable places to keep our horses, as it would be more expensive and not so well to keep them in town the remainder of the season; when it appeared a considerable change had taken place with him in our favour, without our being able to discover the cause. He, without hesitation, not only gave the leave, but after observing we were a people who would make no promises, and that he had no power to regulate us, desired us to regulate ourselves, and informed us that we might ride any where within six miles of Winchester, and as he did not expect we would enter into any engagements, he informed us that we must take the consequences if we exceeded that distance.

Great part of our journal was read over yesterday evening and this evening. Some remarks being made upon it, Henry Drinker, Thomas Fisher, Edward Pennington, James Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, and Miers Fisher, are desired to revise and transcribe it, and to make such alterations and additions thereto as they shall think necessary.

17th.—Colonel Francis Peyton, of Loudon, who had called to see us at Reading, came here on a visit to us, accompanied by our friend John Hough. They dined and spent most of the afternoon and evening with us, having come many miles out of the way, which we take as a mark of their regard and friendly disposition towards us.

18th.—Andrew M'Coy, from Crooked Run, paid us a visit yesterday, and Mahlon Janney and his wife, with Joseph Janney and his sister, (the wife of William Baker,) came over the mountain, about forty miles, from Loudon County, on a visit to us, and stayed most part of the day.

Colonel Francis Peyton and John Hough took leave of us

about eleven o'clock: the former going to Lancaster, we wrote letters to our families.

19th day of 10th month, 1777.—Being the first day of the week, our meeting for worship was held at Philip Bush's, and was attended also by our landlord, his wife, and most of the children, and some few of our neighbouring Friends, Mahlon Janney and those who visited us yesterday, and several not of our religious Society, making up seventy or eighty persons, who attended both morning and afternoon.

This morning, Colonel John Augustus Washington, brother of General Washington, came to our lodgings, and we had some friendly conversation with him. He read us a letter from Lieutenant Richard Henry Lee to him, giving an account of the various successes of the American army, the capture of General Burgoyne, and that General Howe was hemmed in, and would have to evacuate Philadelphia; that he is invested there all around.

This day Colonel David Kennedy produced us a letter, of which he gave us liberty to take a copy, as follows:

"War Office, October 16th, 1777.

"Sir,

"The Board being much engaged have not leisure to take into consideration the whole of your letter on the subject of the Philadelphia prisoners. I am, however, directed to inform you that the Board are thankful for the attention you have heretofore paid to the business, and have appointed Joseph Holmes, Esq., Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners, in the Western District of Virginia, to whom you will please deliver over the prisoners you have in charge, as he has received instructions concerning them, and no doubt will dispose of them in such a manner as will be proper with regard to them, and conducive to the satisfaction of the people of the country.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your very obedient servant,

"Richard Peters,

"Secretary."

20th of 10th month.—Joseph Holmes and Isaac Zane, Jr., who had lately returned from Yorktown (the present location of Congress), came to see us; the former produced the instructions he had received there concerning us, which appears to be all the notice Congress mean to take of our last remonstrance.

"War Office, October 16th, 1777.

"SIR,

"As you have requested from the Board of War some directions relative to the prisoners sent from Pennsylvania, as persons disaffected to the American cause, I am directed to inform you that the mode of treatment of them is to be regulated by their behaviour respectively.

"They are to be treated with every indulgence consistent with the safety of their persons and the good of our cause, so as to avoid on the one hand unnecessary rigour, and on the other to prevent them from spreading disaffection, and injuring the interests of our country. You will dispose of them in a manner suitable to their respective characters and stations, *and to suffer them to be supplied with every necessary they may want, at their own expense.*

"I am your very obedient servant,

"RICHARD PETERS,

"Secretary."

"To

Joseph Holmes, Esq., Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners in the Western District of Virginia."

21st of 10th month.—The messenger who went to Williamsburg with our address to the Governor and Council of Virginia, returned this day and delivered us a letter from Robert Pleasants and Edward Stabler, informing us they had presented it, and enclosing a copy of the minutes of Council thereupon, which is as follows, viz.:

"IN COUNCIL.

"October 15th, 1777.

"VIRGINIA, [L. S.]

"His Excellency having communicated to the Board sundry letters and other papers, relative to the Quakers and others who have been apprehended in Pennsylvania, by order of the Executive Council of that State, as enemies of the independence of America, as it had appeared therefrom that in the present time of danger more immediately threatening that State, it was judged necessary to send them to the town of Winchester, in the county of Frederick, in Virginia, and the lieutenant of that county informing the Governor that he wanted his Excellency's sanction for confining them as prisoners of war, and also that the people of that place were greatly incensed against the said prisoners, and had demanded their removal, and that it was with difficulty he had restrained them from doing violence to their persons: the Board advised his Excellency to write to said county lieutenant, commending his past conduct, and directing him to continue protection, and to exert himself to afford humane treatment to the said prisoners, whom he is to consider as under his care until orders may be given hereafter for their removal; until which time he is to permit them to walk in the daytime, in any part of the town, for the benefit of their health.

"The Board further advised the county lieutenant to let the people of the country know, that any violence which may be offered the prisoners, will be considered highly derogatory and dishonourable to the government. And in the mean time they recommend to his Excellency to write to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, informing them of the situation of their prisoners at Winchester, and that his Excellency would give directions for the removal of them to such other place within

this State, as they would signify to him to have their approbation.

"ARCHIBALD BLAIR,
"Clerk."

"Williamsburg, October 15th, 1777.

"SIR,

"The foregoing advice of the Council I accept, and have to desire you that you will govern yourself according to the tenor of it, and consider it containing my orders.

"I am, sir, your humble servant,
"P. HENRY."

"To the
County lieutenant of the county in which Winchester is situate."

Which being taken into consideration, Israel Pemberton and Miers Fisher desired to confer with David Kennedy upon the subject, who reported that he seemed very willing to continue to us a circuit of six miles round the town, although he thought the minutes of Council would scarcely warrant him in so doing.

We have found that most of the prejudices excited in these parts against our Society, *have arisen from publications made at Philadelphia, and circulated here, containing falsehoods, forgeries, and misrepresentations*, and as the essay prepared at Philadelphia, before we left there, in answer to them, was not published, it was thought necessary to prepare another, and Israel Pemberton, Edward Pennington, Thomas Wharton, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, and Miers Fisher, were appointed a committee for the purpose.

23d day.—Our friend John Hunt went with Samuel R. Fisher, to the week-day meeting at Hopewell, and returned in the afternoon.

About seven o'clock this evening, our friend John Hunt expressed a desire that we might be collected to sit together,

which being complied with, after a short pause he began to speak. He mentioned a close exercise which had attended his mind for some hours, which gratitude to Heaven and a duty to ourselves would not permit him to conceal.

He reminded us of the many interpositions of Divine Providence for our preservation and comfort since our separation from our own dear connexions. He then recommended us to continue watchful, that we might be strengthened to undergo whatever sufferings might be permitted to come upon us; and to keep as much as possible from repeating, or even hearing rumours, which would be frequent, and tend only to weaken us.

24th of 10th month.—This morning a report prevailed that General Burgoyne and all his army were taken, and that 5850 men, prisoners, were sent into Connecticut — that General Howe was about to evacuate Philadelphia. These accounts, we were told, came by express last night. John Magill, Esq., had a letter from Philadelphia, containing the detail, which he read to Miers Fisher, stating also that General Howe's letter to Lord Howe, stating his situation to be very critical, had been intercepted. The intelligence made a great stir in the town. A company of the inhabitants paraded the streets with drum and fife, and fired a feu-de-joie. A bonfire of many cords of wood was made, and in the evening the houses were mostly illuminated. Our friend, Meschach Sexton, who declined, had some small damage done to his house, by way of insult; but there was not much damage done to the town.

25th.—Some of our company discovered in a conversation with our landlord, Philip Bush, that he means to charge each of us ten shillings a day, silver money, for our board, which is twelve shillings and sixpence a day, Pennsylvania currency; and we find our own beds, drink, and washing. A committee was appointed to confer with him thereon, and also to ask David Kennedy to give us permission to board among our friends around the town. Philip Bush said he would agree to make a more exact calculation, and see us again the ensuing week.

26th.—Being the first day of the week; our meeting was attended, morning and afternoon, by Philip Bush and his family, and several Friends from the country. John Pemberton and John Hunt were largely engaged in exhortation and prayer.

Among the Friends that were collected with us this afternoon, was Thomas M'Clunn, who left General Washington's camp, about 20 miles from Philadelphia, on the 18th inst., on or near the Skippack Road.

This Friend, with thirteen others, members of our Society, residing in this county, had been drafted under the militia law of the present government, and taken forcibly from their friends and families; and though they bore a steady testimony against all warlike measures, and refused to partake of the provision allotted to themselves and others, and to handle any of the muskets, to which they were urged, yet they were forced to move on in military order, from place to place, for some distance, when about half their number, from indisposition of body, were allowed to return home, though others were compelled to march in company with the militia to the camp, during which time several of them had muskets tied to their bodies, and were forced to stand at certain places for many hours together.

At the camp a discharge was obtained for them, by order of General Washington, soon after they reached it, with liberty to return home, in which he thinks Clement Biddle was assisting.

Winchester, 2d day of 11th month.—First day of the week. Our religious meetings began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and were very satisfactory. Several exhortations were delivered; in the forenoon by John Pemberton, and in the afternoon by Daniel Brown and John Hunt. Those were the largest meetings we have had, being attended by sixty or seventy persons, mostly members of our Society. Friends were enabled to preach the doctrine of salvation with feeling energy.

About the close of the meeting, Samuel England, from Not-

tingham, arrived. He brought us letters from our friends George Churchman and T. Lancaster, informing us of the sympathy of our friends, and of our families being well, on the 16th ultimo. He showed us a letter from George Churchman, giving an account of a visit paid General Howe, and also to General Washington, by some Friends, in order to remove prejudices against our Society, which it is hoped had some good effect.

We have experienced great inconvenience at being very much crowded at our landlord's, as well as also incommoding his family. This, and the heavy charge of board, have induced several of us to seek for board at our friends' families in the country round. The subject came to be considered this evening, and the inconvenience to arise from our separation. It was concluded to keep up our meetings on first and fourth days, as usual; to meet as occasion otherwise required, and to leave those at liberty to remove to other lodgings. Our situation at Philip Bush's had become very expensive and severe upon us.

The Board of War *has declared that we must find ourselves. They only allow us to have what we want at our own expense;* and on making an attempt to settle with Philip Bush, he would not take less than *seventy-five shillings, hard money, Pennsylvania, per week*, and we find three servants to help, our own bedding and washing, tea, sugar, and all our own drink of every sort except water.

9th day, and first day of the week.—There are thirteen of us who continued to board at Philip Bush's, and we were joined there, at our morning meeting, by Thomas Wharton, Owen Jones, Charles Eddy, Thomas Affleck, and Elijah Brown, and most of our landlord's family: a few strangers attended.

Our company being now separated, and our time being employed in writing, reading, and visiting our friends in the neighbourhood, without any great variety, we think it unnecessary to remark the ordinary occurrences of every day.

We shall, therefore, while that continues to be the case, confine our journal to things of a general nature.

11th day of 11th month.—Thomas Bails and William Robinson, from New Garden, in North Carolina, visited us. They were on their way to perform a religious visit to the Indians, for which they appeared to be under proper qualifications and resignation of mind; leaving all, and at the risk of their lives engaging in this service from a sense of duty and universal love to mankind, engaged our sympathy and desire that they should be preserved in this time of difficulty and danger in the arduous undertaking.

Thomas Bails expects to spend the greater part of his days among the Indians; and having visited them before, he will be useful among them.

12th to 23d of 11th month.

On the 14th, Israel Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Fisher, and Miers Fisher, dined with Alexander White, Esq., by invitation, at his house about three miles from Winchester, and were kindly entertained.

Colonel Francis Peyton, of Loudon County, visited us.

Thomas Gilpin went to Major Holmes's at Newtown.

Our afternoon meeting on first day, having greatly increased, our landlord mentioned that we might have the use of a suitable place, belonging to the Lutherans and Calvinists, to meet in. On considering it would be more convenient, and that the inhabitants of the town might come there with greater freedom than to a private house, we accepted it, and an afternoon meeting was held there this day, for the first time, to which many came of divers denominations.

It was a satisfactory time. Our friend John Hunt, in a clear and edifying manner, preached the Gospel of peace and salvation.

25th of 11th month and 1st of the week.—Sixteen of our number attended our morning meeting, also several of our

landlord's family, and Daniel M'Pherson, jun. and John M'Pherson. The afternoon meeting was held in the same house that it was on first day last, and was very near full. Our friends John Hunt and John Pemberton had very acceptable service in both.

25th of 11th month.—About seven o'clock this evening, our friends John Parrish and John James, from Philadelphia, paid us a visit, and gave us an account of the welfare of our families and of friends there, to our great satisfaction.

27th.—Some part of our company attended the preparatory meeting at Hopewell. In the evening there was a remarkably brilliant aurora borealis. It continued very luminous a considerable time; it extended for about 65 degrees along the horizon at the northeast, and about 45 degrees high, of a rich crimson colour; the air clear; the stars shone through it; after which it parted: the largest body went more to the north, the rest east.

28th.—Our company assembled agreeably to appointment to take into consideration our singular situation for near three months past. That we have been deprived of our liberties and separated from our friends and families, without learning that our oppressors gave any attention to our sufferings, or that they intend to restore us to our just rights.

It was left under the particular care of such as are inclined to revive a representation of our grievances, to propose to us what measures the occasion might seem to require.

30th.—Snow had fallen the 28th and 29th to become fifteen inches deep. Thomas Gilpin and Elijah Brown, from the country, and Thomas Pleasants and Ezekiel Edwards, our landlady and her children, attended our morning meeting, which was silent till near the end, when our friend John Pemberton spoke very acceptably. Our afternoon meeting was attended by the above mentioned, and also by our friends John Parrish, John James, and a number of Friends from the neighbourhood, and some from a distance, on their way to the monthly meeting at Hopewell. The meeting consisted of about

sixty persons, and on account of the deep snow was held at our lodgings.

Winchester, 2d day of 12th month, 1777.—Our friends John James and John Parrish attended our meeting to-day. This day Thomas Gilpin, who went to live at Isaac Brown's, returned to us at Philip Bush's.

8th.—Second day of the week. The essay of "Observations on the charges made against us in the several resolves of Congress," was corrected, agreed to, and a fair copy ordered to be made. It was concluded to send it to "The Meeting for Suffering at Philadelphia," and if approved by them, they are left at liberty to publish it. Israel Pemberton and Henry Drinker are to prepare a letter to accompany it.

William Drewet Smith soon afterwards rode out to take the air, as we expected, but not returning as usual, we apprehend he has gone to Philadelphia.

12th.—Major Joseph Holmes, under whose care we have been for some time placed by the Board of War, dined with us. When he was informed of Dr. William D. Smith having left us, and our apprehensions that he had gone to Philadelphia, he proposed to send an express to Congress about it, but he deferred it till second day next.

While we were considering "The Memorial to Congress" which we entered upon, after our meeting for worship, we were informed that Joseph Holmes, who attended, had some fresh instructions to communicate concerning us, which are in a further order from the Board of War, to wit:

"The Board of War having had sundry intercepted letters laid before them from several of the Quakers, prisoners stationed at Winchester, in the State of Virginia, by which it appears they have kept up a correspondence with several others of that Society, in this and the neighbouring States, without previously showing their letters to the American Commissary of prisoners, or to any other proper officer at that place; in the course of which correspondence it also appears that a certain Owen

Jones, jun., one of the said prisoners, is carrying on with sundry persons in the town of Lancaster, a traffic highly injurious to the credit of the Continental currency, by exchanging gold at a most extravagant premium for paper money. And whereas, it is represented to this Board, that since the residence of the above-mentioned prisoners at Winchester, the confidence of the inhabitants in that quarter in the currency of these States has been greatly diminished, especially among the persons of the same Society with themselves.

"Ordered, That Owen Jones, jun., be forthwith removed under guard to Staunton, in the county of Augusta, there to be closely confined in jail, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, unless for such purposes and for such occasions as the Lieutenant of the said county, or some person appointed by him for that purpose, shall deem expedient.

"That the remainder of the prisoners sent from the State of Pennsylvania, be removed under the same guard to Staunton, and delivered to the county Lieutenant of Augusta, who is hereby directed to require of them a parole or affirmation, that they will not, directly or indirectly, do or say any thing tending to the prejudice of these States, agreeably to the form herewith transmitted; and in case of refusal, the said county Lieutenant is hereby requested to confine the said persons in some secure building, under proper guards, and subject to the same restrictions with Owen Jones, jun., before mentioned.

"That copies of these orders, together with the intercepted letters from Owen Jones, jun., be transmitted to Mr. Joseph Holmes, and to the county Lieutenant of Augusta; who are desired to carry the above measures into immediate execution.

"Extract from the minutes, and signed

"By order of the Board of War.

"Joseph Nourse,

"Deputy Secretary."

Joseph Nourse also produced a copy of a letter from Owen Jones, Jr., and the following deposition taken at Yorktown.

The name of the person was erased, but the substance was—

"—— ——, of Yorktown, in the State of Pennsylvania, being duly examined, and sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and sayeth, That being last week at Winchester, in the State of Virginia, he heard several of the inhabitants complain heavily, that since the Tories of the Quaker Society who were sent up from Philadelphia, had been enlarged, and permitted to reside at the Quaker houses in the vicinity of the town, the inhabitants of that Society, who are numerous in that part of the country, have very generally refused to take Continental money."

Some of our company attempting to walk out, found guards were placed at the doors without our being previously informed of it, and we are again made close prisoners. We soon after learned that Joseph Holmes, before he communicated these orders to us, had given directions to David Kennedy to provide wagons for our immediate removal.

The injustice and cruelty of this order to remove us being laid before Joseph Holmes, he was informed of our being then met to conclude on a memorial to Congress, which we expected to have sent by some one of our number: this he informed us he could by no means now agree to. Then we proposed to prepare one and he to go with it, which he declined; but at length agreed that we might send a representation to Congress, and wait their further determination concerning us.

Those of our company who lodge in the country had leave to go thither, having agreed to meet us again to-morrow morning.

18th day.—Our company collected at eleven o'clock, when the subject of yesterday was resumed. Israel Pemberton, Edward Pennington, Henry Drinker, and Miers Fisher, were appointed to prepare an essay of a memorial to "The Congress," and to the Council of Pennsylvania.

Joseph Holmes, Alexander White, David Kennedy, and John Magill, being with us this morning, John Holmes was

urged particularly by A. White and John Magill to go with our memorial. In this, as well as a consideration of our present circumstances, he showed a very friendly disposition. They dined with us, and it was proposed to Alexander White to go, (J. Holmes continuing to decline it,) to which he promised to let us know in the morning. In the afternoon our guards were ordered away, and those of our company who live in the country permitted to go there.

19th.—We received a note from Alexander White, Esq., informing us of his conclusion to undertake our business.

Our kind friends, John Parrish and John James, who had from brotherly regard undertaken so long a journey to visit us, took an affectionate leave of us this afternoon, and set out for the Quarterly Meeting at Fairfax, Loudon County.

Our company being all met, in the evening our memorial was read to Alexander White, Esq., David Kennedy, and Philip Bush, who all expressed their approbation of it. The two first mentioned, that if we were discharged, it would be expected we should give some assurance that we would not convey any intelligence, and urged our adding a paragraph thereon to the memorial, which we had proposed to do in our instruction to Alexander White. After they withdrew, taking it into consideration, we found ourselves easy to add an assurance, which was accordingly done.

Two fair copies of the memorial being made and signed, are as follows:

"TO THE CONGRESS, AND TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"A memorial from the subscribers, inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, who were sent from thence, and are now confined at Winchester, in Virginia, by order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, dated 28th day of August last.

"Having borne with patience an imprisonment of upwards of three months, at a great distance from our families, and

having a proper sense of the value of that liberty of which we have been unjustly deprived, we apprehend it our duty to ourselves, and to our endeared connexions from whom we have been thus separated, and who must have suffered from our absence in this time of great calamity, to make some further application for our relief; and as our banishment was the act of both your bodies, we think it most proper to address you jointly.

"While we were preparing a memorial for this purpose, we were informed by Joseph Holmes, who has the care of the prisoners of war in this district, that he had received some directions from the Board of War, concerning us, which he soon after communicated.

"We were much surprised at the substance of those directions, and also that they should come from a Board which we apprehended had nothing to do with us; as we were not found in arms, nor charged in any measures tending to war; and of this opinion was Elias Boudinot, Esq., the Commissary-General for prisoners of war, who assured us at Reading on our way hither, that we could by no means whatever be considered as prisoners of war; and that if we had been, he should have had the charge of us, and would have interested himself in providing for our accommodation and support.

"Before we left Philadelphia, we applied to the Council by question in writing, through Lewis Nicola, town major, to know to whose custody we should be committed while here; they returned us for answer by him—

"That the Governor of Virginia would have the charge of us. In consequence of which, soon after our arrival here, we presented an address to the Governor and Council of Virginia, together with copies of the papers accompanying us, requesting them to enlarge our bounds, and not permit us to be removed further from home; that we might be speedily heard in our own defence, and in the mean time that we should be supported and maintained, according to the expectations given us before our banishment.

"Whereupon, the Council advised the Governor, and he adopted the advice, to direct the lieutenant of this county to allow us the benefit of air and exercise, and to afford us protection and humane treatment; and in the mean time to write to the Council of Pennsylvania, informing them of the situation of *their prisoners* at Winchester. Whether the Governor of Virginia has ever written on the subject or not, we have not yet been informed, but apprehend we are under his immediate direction in this place, and ought not to be removed further by the Board of War, or indeed by any other power, without his concurrence.

"The reasons assigned by the Board of War on their order for our removal, are very inadequate to so great an aggravation of our sufferings. They are comprehended under three heads. These we shall endeavour to answer so fully as to induce you to interfere with them to prevent their being carried into execution.

"The charges against us are:

"First. That we have held a correspondence with divers of our friends, without communicating our letters to a proper officer.

"Second. That Owen Jones, Jr., one of our company, had exchanged gold at an extravagant premium, whereby the Continental currency became much depreciated in these parts.

"Third. That since our coming here, the confidence of the inhabitants, and especially those of our Society, in Continental money, was diminished.

"*To the first.* Though we never were informed that it was necessary, our letters to our families and friends should be inspected by any officer here; we did offer them on our first arrival to the lieutenant of the county, who politely declined reading them, and expressing his confidence that we should not communicate any public intelligence, permitted us to send our letters without any application to him. And we have been careful not to give any cause of offence in what we have written, having confined our correspondence to our families

and our friends, and the subjects in our letters to our private concerns; many of them have gone through the public channels, where they have been or might be examined.

"*For an answer to the second.* We refer to state of the case of Owen Jones, Jr., by him sent to James Duane, Esq., member of Congress, to be laid before you.

"*To the third.* Requires particular delicacy in answering. But as it seems to carry an insinuation that we have been the cause of the diminution of the confidence of the people in the Continental currency, it is necessary we should say so much upon the subject as will vindicate ourselves.

"Upon our arrival here, we found that currency depreciated, as it was in other places, to a very considerable degree; or what is the same thing, all articles of life risen to enormous prices. The people of the neighbourhood, as well traders as farmers, unwilling to part with their merchandise or produce of any sort, but by way of barter for other necessaries they were in need of; and this prevailed so much among people of all denominations, that we could not procure our board in the town of Winchester, at a lesser rate than five times the former accustomed price, although we were provided with most if not all the foreign articles we used; and as many of us had no other money to pay for what we wanted, it was our interest to make it go as far as we could; nor have any of us exchanged gold or silver with the inhabitants at any rate, except in one instance, of three half johannes, spared to a goldsmith on his application, to work them up, or used any other means to lessen the value of the Continental currency, nor expended gold or silver in the purchase of any articles, but such as could not easily be had for any other money. If then, the confidence of the people in that money is diminished, it must be ascribed to other causes than to our residence here.

"These hints will, we hope, be sufficient to show that the causes assigned for our removal, will not justify so rigorous a proceeding.

"The removing of us an hundred miles further from home

at the most inclement season of the year; along a road rendered by the weather very difficult to be passed by carriages; through a country thinly settled, where accommodation for so great a number of persons, several of whom are aged, and others very infirm of body, cannot be had at a place where we are utter strangers, and where we shall be at such a distance from our distressed families, that we shall seldom hear of their situation at a time when our care and attention to them is most wanted, are punishments which could only be inflicted for crimes of a deep dye.

"But this is not all. An affirmation or oath is to be tendered to us when we arrive there, and upon our refusal, we are to be closely confined to a house, without the use of pen, ink, or paper; contrary to the repeated assurances given us, that we were to be treated with humanity and politeness, agreeably to our characters and stations.

"We have heretofore declared in the most positive terms our innocence of giving any cause for the suspicions entertained against us. We have never had any hearing of any kind, nor have been convicted of any offence. For these reasons we refused to sign the written promise offered to us at Philadelphia. The same reasons yet subsist; we are as innocent now as then, and therefore cannot make ourselves voluntary prisoners, and thereby give colour to the proceedings against us.

"During our continuance here, no provision has been made for our support; nor does it appear that any is made for our journey to Staunton, or during our residence there, as we were given to understand by the Council should be done. And there are several among us *who have no other dependence for the support of their families than their occupations*, which they are by this means prevented from following.

"We therefore entreat you will take our suffering case into consideration, and review the whole proceedings had against us, when we doubt not you will find that we have given no just cause for our severe treatment, and that you will not only supersede the orders given by the Board of War for our removal,

but restore us to our liberty, that we may return to our families, whereby all occasion of future jealousy or suspicion against us will be removed, and you will experience that peace of mind which always accompanies the doing acts of justice to the oppressed. And in order to convince you that no inconvenience can thus arise to you from thus discharging us, we solemnly repeat the declarations we have heretofore made, that we have never held any correspondence verbally or otherwise, with the General of the British armies, or any others concerned in concerting or carrying on their military operations; and are free further to declare that we will not give them any information of the circumstances of this country, the disposition of the inhabitants, or any transactions respecting the contest between Great Britain and America, which may have come to our knowledge since our residence here.

"Being debarred from making a personal application, we have prevailed upon Alexander White, Esq., a gentleman of character in this neighbourhood, to wait on both your bodies with this memorial, who being well acquainted with the sentiments of the people, and with our conduct, will be able to satisfy you further upon any particulars you may think proper to inquire into.

"We are your real friends,

Thomas Gilpin,
Miers Fisher,
Samuel Pleasants,
Owen Jones, jun.,
Thomas Pike,
Thomas Affleck,
William Smith, (broker,)
Elijah Brown,
Charles Eddy,
Israel Pemberton,
John Hunt,
James Pemberton,
John Pemberton,
Thomas Wharton,
Edward Pennington,
Henry Drinker,
Charles Jervis,
Thomas Fisher,
Samuel R. Fisher.

"Winchester, 19th of 12th month, 1777."

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALEXANDER WHITE, ESQ., WITH A LIST OF PAPERS DELIVERED HIM.

"Our situation has been from the beginning peculiarly hard, as the parties accusing us are the only persons to whom we have been permitted to apply for relief. The only power who could have interfered, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, having been forbidden to proceed upon writs of habeas corpus, by a law made ex post facto.

"If Congress are disposed to favour our request of a discharge, it is most probable they will refer thee to the Council, with whom all arguments should be used for a discharge, and among others, this:

"That they offered to discharge us in Philadelphia, upon our taking the test. The necessity of which being removed by our going there now, and having engaged not to give any intelligence, all objections are removed.

"If there appears no prospect of a discharge, nor of our having a hearing, we then ask thy best efforts to procure a supersedeas to the order for our removal to Staunton; and to obtain this, it will be proper to urge, that the causes are not founded in truth and justice, and among other arguments, the following in regard to Owen Jones, Jr.

"That his sending his gold to a place so distant to exchange for Continental money which was to be expended here, was by no means depreciating that currency; but on the contrary, interested him in the support of its credit.

"With respect to ourselves, the insinuation is false; for we have never done one act to diminish the confidence of the people in it; their confidence was less in the Continental currency than in gold, long before our arrival, as many instances within our own knowledge show, and the decrease of this confidence may be accounted for—

"1st. By the great quantities of it in circulation.

"2d. The increasing scarcity of gold and silver, which has been exported in large quantities for the purchase of foreign

goods, and the scarcity of many articles of life, such as salt, spirits, woollen and linen cloths, which have risen to enormous prices, and the scarcity has had an effect upon every article of produce, and introduced a barter of one article for another.

"3d. The notorious practice of persons in the neighbourhood of the British army, who buy or procure great quantities of Continental currency at a low rate, and take it to a remote place to purchase gold and silver, all manner of produce, and even lands, to realize property, as they term it.

"As this is an increasing thing, the imputation may be made as justly against us at Staunton as any where else they send us. That we are under the immediate protection of the Governor of Virginia, who has promised us protection, and who ought to be consulted as to the place we shall be located in his jurisdiction. That we are not prisoners of war, but persons who are deprived of our liberty on groundless suspicions, and ought not to be punished on suspicions, nor before we are convicted.

"With respect to hardships, we represent, inter alia:

"That the stock of necessaries we brought with us is nearly expended; they have become absolutely necessary, especially in a limestone country, where the water has affected most of us.

"That several of us are in want of linen and warm clothing, which cannot be had here at any price.

"That the season of the year, the badness of the road, want of proper carriages, want of accommodation on the road, will endanger the lives of some of the aged and infirm among us.

"That some of us are not in circumstances to bear such an expense, having no means to support their families in Philadelphia, but their occupations; and the money they brought with them in expectation of having their support, is expended, and they have no means of procuring a supply.

"That our general conduct has been inoffensive, not having interfered in any political questions, nor used any means to influence public measures.

"Thou wilt also endeavour to procure an *order for our expenses during our confinement here, and the more especially if we are to be continued in confinement, for some of us cannot otherwise support themselves.*

"These hints will perhaps assist thee soliciting this affair. But we do not desire to anticipate thy own judgment. And therefore conclude with our best wishes for thy success, and safe return.

"Thy assured and obliged friend,

"In behalf of my fellow-sufferers and myself,

"MIERS FISHER.

"Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia,
20th December, 1777.
"To Alexander White, Esquire."

A. White being furnished with the papers, took leave of us this evening, and returned to his home, distant about two miles. He is to go on to Congress at Yorktown, in the morning.

21st day of 12th month.—First day. Our morning meeting was attended by ten, and our afternoon meeting by twelve of our number; none coming in from the country.

This day George Gilpin of Alexandria arrived, on a visit to us.

In the evening there was a fine aurora borealis.

23d.—A letter was written to our friend Robert Pleasants.

28th.—Nine of our number, and George Gilpin, attended our meeting. Our friend, John Pemberton, appeared both in the morning and afternoon; in both very profitably.

31st.—Our weekday meeting was attended by ten of our number, and George Gilpin and Joseph Lupton. The account of our being ordered to Staunton had reached our friends in the city, which must cause them great uneasiness.

About 4 o'clock, afternoon, we received a letter from Alexander White, Esq., dated at Yorktown, the 26th inst., informing us he had conversed with the Pennsylvania delegates in a

body, and had delivered our memorial on the 24th. He had conversed with several members of Congress, and entertained some hopes of success.

The preceding "Journal of Transactions, &c.," was kept by the exiles at Winchester, Virginia; it commenced at the time of their being arrested at Philadelphia, in September, 1777, and continued to 31st December, 1777. This copy is taken from a journal in the handwriting of Samuel R. Fisher, which was his own copy of it; and there does not appear to have been any Journal of the company kept after that time.

The succeeding part of this narrative is copied from the diary of James Pemberton, and thus completes "The Journal of the Friends in Exile in Virginia," it being from the termination of the year 1777 to the 30th of April, 1778, on which day those members of the company which returned, reached Philadelphia.

The diary of James Pemberton is in possession of his grandson, James P. Parke.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS IN EXILE IN VIRGINIA.

TAKEN FROM THE DIARY OF JAMES PEMBERTON.

Commencing 1st month, 1778, and ending 30th of 4th month, 1778.

Winchester, 1st day of 1st month, 1778.—Fifth day of the week. A moderate calm pleasant day for the season. In the afternoon, visited by Joseph Pemberton, Isaac and William Jackson, who called on their return from Hopewell.

4th day. First day of the week.—Nine of our exiled company, with Isaac and William Jackson, Rees Cadwallader, Sarah Brown, and Joseph Pemberton, William Matthew, John Hurst, Edward Jones, John James, Ruth Holland, Ruth Miller, and other friends, attended our morning and afternoon meetings; we were comforted by a sense of ancient kindness.

My brother, John Pemberton, gave a seasonable exhortation, which with a sense of the immediate attendings of Divine favour, gave us fresh occasion for thankfulness.

7th.—At a meeting on the 4th day of the week, our friends from Pennsylvania expressed a desire to see all our banished company together; and this day being appointed, and notice sent them, our meeting was generally attended, and George Gilpin and our landlady were present.

At the close we had a solid conference, at which our friends were informed of our present situation; of the order for our removal to Staunton, and our memorial to Staunton.

Our friend Isaac Zane, seemed under a religious concern to visit Congress and the Council. Our Pennsylvania friends all dined with us, and concluded to remain a few days in the neighbourhood, as we have expected the return of Alexander White.

11th.—First day of the week. Ten of our company attended our meeting; also George Gilpin, Benjamin Hough, John James, Thomas Millhouse, and other Friends. We spent the evening together, conferring on our present circumstances.

We received a letter from Alexander White, Esq., dated at Yorktown, on the 8th instant, informing us he had been at Lancaster, and presented our memorial to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, who soon came to a resolution to refer it to Congress, whose prisoners they considered us to be. That he could not obtain a copy of the resolve. But that the Secretary, Timothy Matlack, communicated to him the letter he had written to the delegates of Pennsylvania, intimating, but not expressly declaring, "*That as the original arrest was thought by many not to have answered any good purpose, as*

things had turned out, and the detaining in confinement not serviceable to the public cause, they wished us to be released," in fact, that they wanted us to be set at liberty to get rid of us. He said he would urge Congress to come to some further determination, and he hoped to get their decision in a short time, and then to return to us here. A consideration of our business had been postponed by other matters engaging their attention.

Thus we have at length obtained from the Council a tacit acknowledgment of the injustice of our banishment, and a declaration that we are not their prisoners;—and Congress declare they will not have any thing to do with the internal policy of the different states;—we certainly are not persons subject to the Board of War, for we were not taken as fighting men, or found in arms.

This account of Alexander White, Esq., afforded us a prospect of some favourable result; but our hopes were much allayed by the accounts we subsequently received.

In the afternoon, Colonel David Kennedy called, and read us an order to him from *the government of Virginia, directing him to carry into strict execution the orders of Congress, for our immediate removal to Staunton.* Thus we are tossed about from one power to another, as we have been from the first of our suffering, which requires a further exercise of our patience and stability.

The contents of this letter plainly implying that Colonel Kennedy was to follow the directions of the Board of War, we informed him of our expectations that he would wait till we heard further from Alexander White, to which he gave us little satisfaction, but appeared to be disposed to urge our immediate removal.

13th.—A cold frosty night, keenly cold, with little wind. This morning about 11 o'clock, Colonel Kennedy placed a guard at each door of our house, and we were again made close prisoners; but in about an hour he ordered them away. Our landlord promoted it, because he found fault with guards being at his house; and without our privity entered into a pro-

mise that no person should be permitted to see us unless in his presence.

We received a letter from Alexander White, stating his having returned home; that he had left our business unfinished before Congress, but would come to see us in the morning.

15th.—Our banished company came together, except Thomas Wharton, who was quite unwell. Alexander White, Esquire, met us to give a particular account of his proceedings before the Congress, and before the President and Council of Pennsylvania, on our memorial, on which he appears to have taken great pains, though yet without the desired effect. The Council referred the case to Congress. On his return to Congress at York, it was again taken up several times, and as often postponed through the influence of members opposed to us, and he came away, leaving the matter unfinished. Alexander White had made his own statement of our case in writing.

Alexander White stated that he was assured by some members of the Board of War, that they did not mean to carry the order for our removal to Staunton at once into execution. We therefore thought it necessary to inform Colonel Kennedy of this view of the matter, and he readily agreed to suspend all preparations until further instructions came on, or that Congress should determine upon it.

From the account Alexander White gave us of the conversations he had with several members of the Congress as well as the Council, there are many opinions.—*Some are for our discharge, condemning the whole proceeding as arbitrary and unjust.* Others *for discharging us,* because if we were dangerous men at the time of our being taken up, we would now do less harm in Philadelphia than where we are.—*Others were for discharging us, because if we pursue our own inclinations, to go where we choose, and go to Philadelphia, now in possession of the British, and within their lines, our estates would be confiscated as persons joining the enemy.—Some were candid enough to say that they knew nothing could be proved against us.*

Colonel Wood, lately returned from camp, appears to interest

himself very much in our hard case; as also Joseph Holmes, the Commissary. The letter to him from the Board of War, approved of his conduct generally, since they knew he had granted us the liberty of the town and vicinity of Winchester; and he had no intention of taking any steps for our removal until he heard the result of our memorial to Congress.

George Gilpin, who was here on a visit to his brother, Thomas Gilpin, has long awaited the return of Alexander White, Esq., to know the result of his negotiation; he now expressed a willingness to go to Congress, and use his endeavours for an honourable determination of our memorial, the consideration of which it was expected would be taken up again.

On a conference thereon, it was agreed to his going, particularly as he is well acquainted with some of the delegates from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and has been in the public service from the commencement of the war till the end of this campaign; holding the office of Colonel in the Fairfax militia. He had a proper sense of the justness of our cause, and of the ill policy of the measure proposed against us. We are, therefore, to furnish him with the necessary papers to prosecute his business. He goes first to his home at Alexandria, and from thence in a few days to York.

17th. Seventh day of the week.—Israel Pemberton wrote to his wife, enclosing his letter to Elias Boudinot. George Gilpin set off about ten o'clock. A dull day; rain and hail most of the day.

18th. First day.—Our meetings silent; a high northwest wind and cold atmosphere. Received the following letter from Colonel Joseph Holmes to Miers Fisher, dated

"Shippensburg, 17th of January, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—

"On a second consideration of the request of yourself and the rest of the gentlemen, I have thought it will be attended with civil consequences to you.

"You'll remember it was the opinion of some gentlemen, who are your friends, that the reasons on which the order of the Board of War was founded, was principally owing to that indulgence permitting the gentlemen to ride out among the inhabitants.

"I am very sensible the complaints were made to the Board by some men in Winchester; and since they find it gives ear to such mischievous clamours, and puts you to so much trouble and expense, they will be glad of the opportunity to blow the matter up again should they meet with success. It is no more than probable, taking the two complaints together, the Board may order matters to be more disagreeable, than is at present expected.

"I hope you are well convinced of my sentiments in regard to your unhappy situation, and likewise my confidence in you, and that you will not judge it to be any fear I entertain of the security of your persons. Believe me, I have not the least shadow of doubt in my mind of the gentlemen's fidelity; my only motive is to prevent the bad effects, which it appears to me would arise, and make the gentlemen more unhappy.

"You are not so unthinking as to know, should those evil-minded persons transmit to the Board another libel, to come to hand before Colonel Gilpin gets down, it might in a great measure prevent his succeeding.

"I leave this to your own consideration, and hope you will judge wisely with him,

"Who is sincerely your friend, and

"Most humble servant,

"Joseph Holmes.

"To Miers Fisher, Esq."

John Hough wrote us, that George Gilpin had called at his house on his way home, who informed him that we were allowed to remain at Winchester till Congress would decide on our memorial.

George Gilpin agreed to come to John Hough's on 2d day,

as he designed to get Colonel Peyton to accompany them to Congress. We answered John Hough's letter by the return of his son, and enclosed one from John Magill, Esq., to S. Harvie, and one from Colonel Wood to another delegate in Congress.

22d. Fifth day of the week.—A clear cold day; about eleven o'clock Colonel Kennedy came to ask us how many wagons would be necessary to remove us to Staunton, as he thought he must execute the orders of the Governor of Virginia, to obey those of the Board of War.

We endeavoured to convince him that the orders from the Governor could only be conditional; that when we were removed he was to furnish the means of conveyance to Joseph Holmes, the Commissary.

We stated that the Commissary had acquainted the Board with our memorial to Congress, and of his having deferred to execute the order till an answer was returned.

We remarked that we believed there were but few persons in Winchester who entertained any prejudice against us, but if there were any and we could know it and the cause, we would be glad of an opportunity to remove it, and to correct or explain any part of our conduct which had been objectionable to them.

He said he knew nothing, but that some millers had lately refused to grind rye and other grain for the distillers, which they thought was owing to our advice and influence.

We told him we understood it to be by the advice of our Society to its members, and not by us.

He acknowledged that caution was necessary, but it ought to be done by the Legislature, and not by private persons. He said he disapproved so much of the practice of distilling spirit from grain, that he and some others designed to apply to the Legislature for a law to prohibit it.

25th. First day of the week.—Our meeting held as usual in the morning and in the afternoon, when John Hunt made some encouraging remarks to us.

William Matthews, from Yorktown, informed us that he had

left Yorktown on 5th day, 26th, when several of the committee from Pipe Creek had laid before a committee of Congress, the sufferings of the exiles. Several of the delegates were favourably disposed, but others were sworn against us, having strong prejudices against the Society. No particular cause was argued for our unjust banishment, nor any complaint against any part of our conduct here.

William Matthews brought the following order from the new Board of War, which we showed to Colonel Kennedy, when he came to see us on the arrival of the mail from Baltimore.

"War Office, 21st January, 1778.

"Sir,—

"As the prisoners sent from Pennsylvania have sent a memorial to Congress, which lays before them undetermined, I am to direct you to suspend the removal of those gentlemen to Staunton, until you receive the further directions of this Board.

"I am, with due respect,

"Horatio Gates,

"President.

"To the County Lieutenant of Frederick, or Deputy Commissary General of prisoners, of Winchester, Virginia, sent to the Honourable John Harvie."

31st.—This morning the celebrated Colonel Jacob Morgan, lately returned from the American camp, on a visit to his family, residing about fifteen miles from Winchester, came to see us.

After some conversation we found him more free and sociable in his expressions than we expected. We gave him one of the pamphlets containing the narrative of our case until we were sent out of Philadelphia.

We conversed on this and other subjects affably. He appeared impartial and disposed to hear, by which means some objections which he made to our conduct were answered, and

the unfavourable prepossessions which he had received concerning Friends arising from wrong reports, obviated.

He acknowledged *we had been treated injuriously, and inconsistent with liberty and the common justice due to us* and to all men, by being banished and deprived of a hearing which we had demanded.

1st day of 2d month, 1778. First day of the week.—Our meetings both morning and afternoon small.

2d.—Attended the monthly meeting at Hopewell, this day the second of the week.

John Hunt spoke largely and prophetically, saying the night was far gone and the day of our deliverance was at hand; but he stated *he should not have another public opportunity with friends there;* he said distress and calamity would be spread over the country.

5th.—A fine day. In the evening Isaac Zane returned from Yorktown. He gave us an account of the conferences he and the friends who accompanied him had with the delegates of Congress. In these, they had an opportunity to correct many of the false reports concerning the conduct of Friends in Pennsylvania, which had occasioned them to be under great prejudices against our religious Society.

He also stated that in pursuance of their application, a committee of three members was appointed by Congress to meet them on our particular circumstance, which gave them an opportunity for a candid hearing.

At length they allowed that *they had no other accusation against us than the several epistles of advice which had been published by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, exciting the members of our religious Society to maintain a conduct consistent with our religious principles.*

The committee urged our enlargement from exile, or that Congress would give us an opportunity to be heard in our defence, which hitherto could not be obtained.

After some time, a resolve of Congress, dated on the 29th, was delivered to them, of which the following is a copy

IN CONGRESS.

"29th January, 1778.

"Resolved, That the prisoners now at Winchester, in the State of Virginia, who have been apprehended by the government of Pennsylvania, in consequence of the resolution of Congress dated 28th August, 1777, be discharged from their confinement, on their taking or subscribing either the oath or affirmation of allegiance, as prescribed by the laws of Pennsylvania, or the following oath or affirmation, at the option of the persons concerned.

"I, A. B., do swear, (or affirm) that I acknowledge myself a subject of the State of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent state, and that I will in all things demean myself as a good and faithful subject ought to do."

We received a letter from George Gilpin, dated at Yorktown, 1st February, 1778, informing us he came to that place in company with John Hough, the day after the foregoing resolve, and met Isaac Zane and four of our friends, who had been attending to our business. He had conversations with several members of Congress, who as men, *wished we were in Philadelphia attending to our families.*

7th day of 2d month.—Sent a copy of the resolve of Congress, and George Gilpin's letter, to Philadelphia.

8th day. First day of the week.—Our meeting in the morning attended by twelve of the exiles. Wind at northeast, and snow.

10th day of 2d month.—A more southerly wind. About five o'clock, Dr. Thomas Parke and James Morton, to our great joy, and unexpected surprise, came from Philadelphia to see us, and brought us letters.

Our friends had remained in anxious solicitude and suspense on account of the orders sent to remove us to Staunton; our letters since the orders were countermanded, had not reached

them; and for want of not knowing how things were, these friends had to undertake this long journey, to come to see us. We spent the evening in inquiries about our families, and the general state of things in Philadelphia.

12th.—A clear day and windy. Ground covered with snow. Doctor Parke and James Morton, accompanied by John Pemberton, and Thomas Gilpin, went to Hopewell meeting, and to visit our companions there. John Pemberton and Thomas Gilpin returned in the evening.

13th.—Sixth day of the week, windy, clear and cold. Thomas Bates and William Robinson, of North Carolina, who were with us about four weeks ago, came back from the Indian country. They had gone to within thirty miles of Pittsburg, where they were apprehended by some of the magistrates of Westmoreland County, and the test of allegiance to the States tendered to them, which they refusing to take, were put under confinement, and treated as prisoners near a month, their certificates taken from them, and treated with rough language and many threats; but on the violence of the people abating, they were discharged, though not allowed to proceed on their journey; the magistrates withdrawing their warrant, after their steady refusal to comply with their arbitrary demands; and as they were not permitted to accomplish their journey, they were most easy to return home. The people on the frontiers are in commotion from an apprehension of an Indian war, some of the Indian people having been killed in a very cruel manner by the whites.

14th day of 2d month, 1778.—Cloudy and snow. Dr. Thomas Parke and James Morton, spent the evening with us, and as there appeared a necessity for their speedy return, they concluded to set off on 2d day morning, the 16th.

15th of 2d month. First day of the week.—Our meeting this morning consisted of only seven of us exiles, who reside in the house of Philip Bush, and three from Isaac Brown's, with Doctor Parke and James Morton, (James Pemberton's two sons-in-law,) who came last week to visit us, Henry

Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, and Thomas Gilpin being in their chambers unwell.

16th day of 2d month.—A clear cold day. After dinner, about three o'clock, Doctor Thomas Parke and James Morton left us, intending to go to Lewis Neale's that night. Thomas Fisher, Miers Fisher, and Thomas Affleck accompanied them; I (James Pemberton) was too unwell to go out. I thus parted with my two sons. I wrote to my family, and sent my diary from the time of my leaving Reading, the 20th of 9th month, to the 14th instant.

In the evening, I had cause to suspect that Thomas Pike had eloped, having left us this morning under a pretence of going to Isaac Zane's ironworks, and were informed he did not go there. I gave my sons notice to prevent his imposing himself upon them in the course of their journey. I thought it best they should return by way of Fairfax, as it was first intended; and sent my servant Richard with a note stating that our company considered that Thomas Pike had acted dishonourably; that he was suspected of going off, and that Commissary Holmes would be informed of it in the morning.

17th.—In the afternoon, Major Holmes called; he had heard of Thomas Pike's elopement. We told him all the circumstances we knew of him; that he was a stranger to us till he was sent away with us from Philadelphia; but we considered him not to be under the same restraint of principle which we are.

Major Holmes behaved very politely to us on the occasion. He took a memorandum toward forming an advertisement, and having to send an express to the Board of War, he would inform Congress of the suspicions respecting him.

20th day of 2d month.—Sixth day of the week; dull, cold weather. George Gilpin arrived from Yorktown and Lancaster, where he had been since the 28th of last month, using his endeavours for a favourable determination of our memorials to the Congress and to the Council of Pennsylvania,—in which he was not successful. He informed us that on his arrival at

York, he found our friends had nearly completed their conference with the delegates, and that Congress had entered into "the Resolve," on the contents of our memorial.

Some of the members of Congress told George Gilpin, *that if the Council of Pennsylvania would signify their desire for our discharge, they believed Congress would agree to it.* It was accomplished in this way, as it will hereafter appear.

George Gilpin very prudently did not make himself known to the President, and but few of the people, and returned to us, after having been detained at the crossing of the Susquehanna eight days by the ice.

23d.—A message was sent us from E. Joliffe's, that our friend John Hunt, who had been confined to his bed for several days, was much worse; being suddenly seized with a pain in his leg which had rendered it entirely useless, and greatly alarmed the family.

28th.—James Pemberton returned from Thomas Brown's, and found our friend Thomas Gilpin in a very unfavourable way; reduced by much weakness, though not attended by pain or a high fever. His three brothers, Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher, and Miers Fisher, attend him with great care and affection.

Winchester, 1st day of 3d month, 1778. First day of the week.—Our meeting this morning was small, six of us only attending. In the afternoon, with our friends Isaac Everett and William Penrose, from York County, Pennsylvania, we had about thirty persons, the largest meeting we have had for a considerable time.

2d.—About half-past twelve o'clock, 2d day of 3d month, 1778, our fellow-sufferer, Thomas Gilpin, was taken out of this transitory life. He had been in a low state for several days, and had borne his previous sickness with great patience, as he had borne his unreasonable exile, and cruel separation from his wife and family.

Having been blessed with a mild disposition, and good mental qualifications, his intercourse with us has been always

steady and amiable, so that he has been apparently contented since our confinement. He has borne his affliction with great stability and fortitude, and was sustained through his illness with great composure of mind. He was blessed with his understanding to the last, and sensible of his approaching end, which he expressed to his brothers, who affectionately attended him. He had been ill with a fever, the consequence of a severe cold, which he had caught by exposure about two weeks before.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ILLNESS AND DECEASE OF THOMAS GILPIN, OF PHILADELPHIA, AT WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA.

From the Journal of Israel Pemberton.

The case of our friend, Thomas Gilpin, has been painful to us all.

By exposing himself after our meeting, on the 6th day of the 2d month, 1778, in the meadow, about a mile from Winchester, he took a violent cold, but after taking some medicine, he appeared to be as well as usual.

On the 12th, he went with our friend John Pemberton, Doctor Parke, and James Morton, to Hopewell meeting, and on returning home, he was indisposed, and went early to bed.

On first day, the 15th, at his request, Doctor Parke bled him, but this did not afford him relief.

On third day he seemed worse, his fever having increased, and Doctor Parke having gone to Philadelphia, he was attended to by Doctor Macky; and after taking some diluting drinks, we considered him better.

On the 19th, his brother George Gilpin returned to Winchester, from Yorktown, where he had been to Congress, and to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on our account; he then appeared better, and we were without any apprehension of danger; so that his brother George Gilpin left him on the 20th, to go to his own family at Alexandria.

But on the seventh day of the week, the 21st, he grew much weaker, and could bear but little conversation; from that time till the 23d, he began to be ill, and we apprehended he was in danger.

On the 26th and 27th he had less fever, but his weakness increased till the first of the 3d month, when he was evidently so very ill that we apprehended his approaching dissolution.

About 10 o'clock at night, a rough draft of his will had been brought to him, in which it was said that "he with a number of others, had been unjustly banished;" but he desired that such an expression should not be continued in it, as it would cast a reflection on persons who had caused it. And after this, I took leave of him, when he was quite sensible and composed, and he told me he had nothing upon his mind.

In about half an hour, he desired his wife's brothers to remember his dear love to his wife and children. Soon after this, the young woman who attended us, sat by him, and he said, "Katy, I am going the way of all flesh, and I hope it is in mercy; thou hast been a good girl, and my brothers will reward thee;" and after a short interval, he said, "There are many religions in the world, and a variety of forms, which have occasioned great persecutions, and the loss of many lives, each contending that they are right; but there is but one true religion, arising from faith in God, and in his son Jesus Christ, and hope in his mercy. A monitor placed in every mind, which if we attend to, we cannot err." He repeatedly expressed a wish that this monitor was attended to. He several times desired those about him to be very still, as he hoped he should also be; after which he said very little, his breath grew shorter, and without sigh or groan, or any sensible emotion, he quietly departed at half an hour after midnight.

He was interred in Friends' burial ground at Hopewell, in Fairfax County, near Winchester, Virginia, on the third day of the week, the third day of the third month, 1778, attended by a considerable number of Friends, and a few others, although the season was very severe, and the notice not so general as was intended.

After the interment, we had a good meeting at Hopewell, in which our friends Joshua Brown and Isaac Everett had an acceptable testimony; the latter in fervent supplications, which I believe ascended with acceptance to the throne of grace, and in which our distant friends are remembered, who are companions in our afflictions.

Thus, one of us is happily released from the power of our oppressors; and as our landlady observed, "He died like a Christian," which I believe may be truly said of him.

I had but little acquaintance with him before our being confined together; but his conduct recommended him much to my esteem.

He was steady in maintaining his own sentiments, but with due care to give no cause of offence to others. His principles were liberal, free from bigotry to any party: thus he could discover that which was laudable or culpable in either. He supported his opinion, but without severity; and never expressed one murmur or complaint on our unjust suffering during his illness.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Winchester, 3d month, 1778.

Winchester, 2d day of the 3d month, 1778. Second day of the week.—Very cold and clear. We hear that John Hunt is much the same as for a day or two past. Henry Drinker and Samuel Pleasants came down stairs, and are recovering. Doctor Macky says that the town of Winchester has never been so sickly before.

3d. Third day of the week.—A dull morning, the wind from the north, cold. This day being appointed for the interment of our fellow-exile, Thomas Gilpin, and the arrangements being made, the company set off from the house of Philip Bush, Winchester, about ten o'clock, several persons from the neighbourhood, and some town people attending. The snow being deep, and the roads much unbeaten, we did not reach Hopewell meeting (six miles,) until near one o'clock, where there were many other Friends assembled. After the interment we

had a satisfactory sitting at the meeting-house, and returned to Winchester.

8th day of the 3d month, and the first day of the week.—Eight of our company attended our meeting at the house of Philip Bush; meeting silent.

12th.—Went out to David Brown's, but returned to Hopewell, where we received an unfavourable account of John Hunt; a mortification had begun in his leg, and made such progress that an amputation of his limb was the only means of arresting it. John Pemberton went immediately to visit him.

15th day of 3d month. First day of the week.—Six of us, lodgers at Philip Bush's, made up the meeting. Miers Fisher confined to his chamber unwell.

John Hunt had been visited at Hopewell by our friend John Pemberton, and his case was so precarious that it was concluded to send for Doctor General Stephens, an old and experienced physician and surgeon, for his opinion and judgment. William Smith had rode all night on 7th day, to invite him to come; he living twenty miles from Hopewell.

On the meeting of Drs. Macky and Stephens, they came to a conclusion that an amputation was the only expedient to save the patient's life; which, when communicated to John Hunt, he received the information with a composed mind. He agreed the operation should be performed, and they fixed upon the next day for the purpose.

16th.—We had concluded for some time to remove our quarters from Philip Bush's; divers reasons concurring to render it expedient. The persons who have sent us here *having taken no pains to provide a place for our residence, or any support for us*, we are under the necessity of seeking out a suitable one for ourselves; and our friend David Brown, who lives about five miles southward of Winchester, having agreed to accommodate us, my brothers, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, and myself, Henry Drinker, and Samuel Pleasants, concluded to go there. Our friends, David Brown and Sarah his wife, had prepared the house to receive us, and we took a friendly leave of our landlord, Philip Bush, and his wife.

My brother John Pemberton informs me, that Edward Pennington continues very poorly, and as Miers Fisher has been unwell for several days, he and his brothers, Thomas Fisher and Samuel R. Fisher, have been prevented from removing to Lewis Neale's, as intended.

22d.—This morning the physicians having concluded that an amputation was the only means by which the life of our friend John Hunt could be preserved, it was communicated to him, and he became resigned to it.

He was enabled to endure the operation with fortitude and composure, so that the surgeon observed to him when he had finished and dressed the wound, "Sir, you have behaved like a hero!" to which he mildly replied, "I have endeavoured to bear it like a Christian." The physicians continued to attend him with care, and had for some days hopes of his recovery, as for some time afterwards he appeared lively.

31st day of 3d month.—Clear, cold, windy. In the afternoon we received from Samuel Pleasants, who had been at Winchester, the following extract of a letter, from John Harvie, a delegate in Congress, to John Magill, Esquire, at Winchester, dated at Yorktown a few days past.

"Congress have ordered the Board of War to deliver the gentlemen of Philadelphia, now prisoners at Winchester, to the order of the State of Pennsylvania, which means shortly to send for them and bring them to trial on the charge formerly established."

Which John Magill delivered with the letter, that we might be informed fully of the contents of it.

First day of 4th month, 1778, fourth day of the week.—A very spring-like morning.

I went over alone to Hopewell, having been for some days desirous to see our afflicted friend, John Hunt, and was informed there, he was released from the afflictions and troubles of this life at about 10 o'clock, on the 31st of 3d month, and when I reached Eliza Joliffe's, my fellow-exiles residing there had agreed upon his interment to be to-morrow morning, and Charles Eddy had gone to inform us of it.

Edward Pennington is very unwell, but as his disorder has reached his feet, he may soon recover.

James Pemberton states that he had received the following particulars respecting the decease of our worthy friend, John Hunt.

He bore his heavy trial with great patience and Christian resignation, which conveyed instruction to all who were with him; he was cheerful though silent, and after as well as before the operation, slept and eat sufficiently. His having laid so long in one position was tiresome and painful. He bore the dressing of the wound well; yet in about a week he declined. Something of a paralytic affection attended him, and his speech faltered as he grew weaker. He remained in a very composed state of mind, and expressed no apprehensions concerning himself, and he departed this life very easily, on the 31st day of 3d month, at about 10 o'clock in the evening.

Second of 4th month; fifth day of the week.—I set off before eight o'clock, with my brother John Pemberton and A. M'Coy, for Hopewell, to attend the interment of our dear friend, John Hunt. Rain fell until we reached Winchester, but not afterwards.

We reached E. Joliffe's, and the company, which was large and consisted of Friends and others, started at 10 o'clock. After the interment in the grave-yard near the meeting-house, the company retired into it, and we had a very satisfactory meeting.

Thus the last act of respect and love was solemnly paid to the remains of a dignified minister of the Gospel, whose gift was eminent, and he had laboured in it forty years. His delivery was clear and intelligible, and his doctrine sound and edifying. He was often favoured with great power and demonstration, singularly manifested in our meetings for worship we had during the time of our exile at Winchester. And he expressed himself much concerned that the inhabitants should come to a knowledge of the truth, and a due feeling for their

own eternal welfare; and although but few of them knew us, yet they were desirous to attend our meetings.

Being a man possessing a clear judgment and strong natural abilities, improved by long religious experience, he was a useful member of our religious Society; careful for the support of our discipline, and spoke often pertinently to matters under consideration.

He was in the 67th year of his age; strong constitution; low in stature; but favoured through life with general good health.

Fifth day of 4th month, first day of the week.—I went with my brother, Israel Pemberton, and Samuel Pleasants, to the Centre Meeting.

10th.—Joseph Holmes informs us he meant to go to Yorktown, to visit Congress; and Thomas Affleck being much afflicted by the news of the illness of his wife and children in Philadelphia, is very desirous to go with him, in order to apply to Congress for liberty to visit them.

15th.—In the afternoon, J. Musser came as express, to bring a letter from J. Webbs, Lancaster, dated the 12th, to inform us that four of our near relatives and wives, Phebe Pemberton, Mary Pleasants, Susanna Jones, and Eliza Drinker, had come up there a few days before to use their endeavours to obtain justice from our persecutors, and a release from our unmerited banishment.

They write us that two persons, authorized by the President and Council of Pennsylvania, set out the day before to take charge of us, in pursuance of a resolve of Congress to the Board of War, to deliver us over to the President and Council; and by a letter to James Pemberton from Charles Thomson, Secretary to Congress, now received, dated the 7th inst., I have a copy of the resolve, as follows, to wit:

"In Congress, 16th of March, 1778.

"Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to deliver

over to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, the prisoners sent from that State to Virginia.

"Extract from the minutes,

"CHARLES THOMSON,
"Secretary."

And by a letter dated 18th, a copy of the resolve of the Board of War came to my brother, Israel Pemberton, to wit:

"Yorktown, 8th April, 1778.

"SIR,—

"You are hereby directed and authorized to deliver over to the order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, all the prisoners of that State now under your care.

"HORATIO GATES,
"President.

"To JOSEPH HOLMES, ESQ.,
"Deputy Commissary of Prisoners at Winchester."

Also the following subjoined:

"Yorktown, 8th April, 1778.

"SIR,—

"By order of Congress, we enclose you our directions to Joseph Holmes, Esq., Deputy Commissary of Prisoners at Winchester, to deliver over to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, or their order, all persons under his care belonging to that State. The orders of Congress, which are also enclosed, are dated 26th of March, 1778; and would have been immediately attended to, had not the Board expected an application from the President and Council for the delivery of the prisoners to some person authorized to receive them.

"I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"HORATIO GATES,
"President.

"To his Excellency, the President and Council of Pennsylvania."

The transaction of this business relating to our releasement, manifests great inattention, whether designed or accidental we leave—but we had reason to conclude that James Pemberton's letter of the 31st ultimo, to Charles Thomson, informing him of the intelligence we had received of the orders of Congress, and requesting a copy to be sent us, produced an early determination on our case.

We are at a loss to conjecture from what culpable motion an influence was exerted in the Council of Pennsylvania, to continue us in confinement at Winchester—many of us very unwell and suffering in body and in mind after the loss of two of our companions by death. After the time of the resolve of Congress, of the 16th March, 1778, to liberate us, *to the time our situation was forced upon the Council of Pennsylvania*, by the resolution of the Board of War, dated 8th of April, the long time of twenty-three days passed when the order to Joseph Holmes, Esq., commissary of the prisoners, became absolute.

It appears that the order of the Board of War was *immediately sent forward* to the Council at Lancaster, which came to the resolve to send us two messengers to escort us to Shippensburg, and thus to discharge us.

The resolution of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania is as follows, viz. :

"IN COUNCIL.

"Lancaster, April 8th, 1776.

"The resolve of the Congress of 16th March last, 'That the Board of War be directed to deliver over to the order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, the prisoners sent from this State to Virginia,' being now read, and the law for the further security of the government taken into consideration, as far as affects the said prisoners,

" Thereupon ordered, That the said prisoners, to wit:

Israel Pemberton,	Thomas Gilpin,
John Pemberton,	Samuel R. Fisher,
John Hunt,	Samuel Pleasants,
Thomas Wharton,	Owen Jones, Jr.,
James Pemberton,	Charles Jervis,
Edward Pennington,	Miers Fisher,
Henry Drinker,	Thomas Affleck,
Thomas Fisher,	William Smith,
Charles Eddy,	William Drewet Smith,
Elijah Brown,	

be brought to Shippensburg, and there enlarged.

" That they be informed of the law passed for the security of the government, by giving to Mr. Israel Pemberton or some one of the prisoners, a printed copy of the said law for the inspection of the whole. [See page 225.]

" That Mr. Francis Y. Baily and Captain Lang, be appointed to apply to the Board of War to receive from them an order for the delivery of the prisoners sent from this state to Virginia, and that the Board of War be requested to give orders for such assistance in procuring wagons to bring the prisoners on to this state as may be necessary. That the said Francis Y. Baily and Captain Lang receive and conduct the said prisoners to Shippensburg, in this state, and there set them at liberty; and that on their journey they may be treated with the respect due to their characters.

" Ordered, That the Lieutenants of the counties through which the aforesaid prisoners may pass, give the necessary assistance to Mr. Baily and Captain Lang, by furnishing wagons and other assistance they will be in need of.

" Extracts from the minutes,

" T. Matlack,

" Secretary."

It will be observed on comparing the list, that the prisoners

to be brought back into Pennsylvania, are mentioned to be the same as those sent into banishment, with the exception of Thomas Pike, who had left the company.

But it was well known in Pennsylvania that two of the company had died, owing to some of the causes connected with their situation, and the anxieties which had from time to time affected them; and yet—Could it have been unknown to the Council of Pennsylvania, or could they have so disregarded the feelings of society, as to place the names of two highly esteemed individuals, who died in Virginia during their long and unmerited banishment, in the list of those liberated to return home to their families!!

These had been previously liberated from the hand of the oppressor:

Thomas Gilpin died on the 2d of the third month, 1778.
John Hunt died on the 31st of the third month, 1778.

It is far more than probable that the general sympathy existing on the occasion, called for this act of restitution as a compromise respecting the remaining sufferers.

The following is a copy of the orders given by the President and Council of Pennsylvania, to Captain James Lang and Francis Y. Baily, Esq., relative to their conduct to the prisoners on their route from Winchester, Virginia, to Pennsylvania.

"IN COUNCIL.

"Lancaster, April 10th, 1778.

"GENTLEMEN,—

"The enclosed resolves of the Council will show that you are appointed and authorized to conduct the prisoners sent from this state to Virginia, from Winchester, the place of their present confinement.

"It is reported that several of those gentlemen are in a bad state of health, and unfit to travel; if you find this to be the case, they must be left where they are for the present. Those

of them who are in health, you are to bring with you, treating them on the road with that polite attention and care which is due from men who act on the purest motives, to gentlemen whose stations in life entitle them to respect, however they may differ in political sentiments from those in whose power they are. You will please to give them every aid in your power by procuring the necessary means of travelling, in wagons or otherwise, with such baggage as may be convenient for them on the road.

"Enclosed is an order of the Board of War to Joseph Holmes, Esq., to deliver over those gentlemen to the order of the Council and for the delivery being made to you.

"Perhaps it may be convenient to divide those gentlemen into two companies, for their better accommodation on the road; in this respect you may consult the inclination and choice of the gentlemen themselves. Your own prudence and good sense will direct you in such incidents as may turn up, in which the Council have no doubt but that your conduct will justify their confidence in you.

"I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"Thomas Wharton, Jr.

"To Francis Y. Baily and
Captain James Lang."

It is proper to remark that this letter was the last official act of Thomas Wharton relative to the prisoners. He died at Lancaster, 23d of May, 1778.

Four of the female relations, to wit, Mary Pleasants, Susanna Jones, Eliza Drinker, and Phebe Pemberton, came out of Philadelphia, and passed the English and American lines, to visit General Washington at his camp at Valley Forge, about the fourth of April, in order to procure permission to send provisions to their friends, and to meet them on their way home. They had written previously to General Washington the fol-

lowing letter. This letter and visit produced the following letters from him to Governor Thomas Wharton, jun.

"Philadelphia, 31st of the 3d month, 1778.

"TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"Esteemed Friend,—

"The pressing necessity of an application to thee, when perhaps thy other engagements of importance may by it be interrupted, I hope will plead my excuse. It is on behalf of myself and the rest of the suffering and afflicted parents, wives, and near connexions of our beloved husbands, now in banishment at Winchester. What adds to our distress in this sorrowful circumstance is the account we have lately received of the removal of one of them by death, and that divers of them are much indisposed; and as we find they are in want of necessaries proper for sick people, we desire the favour of General Washington to grant a protection for one or more wagons, and for the persons we may employ to go with them, in order that they may be accommodated with what is suitable, for which we shall be much obliged.

"Signed, on behalf of the whole,

"MARY PEMBERTON."

"Headquarters, Valley Forge, 5th April, 1778.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR WHARTON.

"Sir,—

"I take the liberty to enclose you a letter from Mrs. Mary Pemberton, requesting a passport for some wagons to be sent out with articles for the use of her husband and others now in confinement; as the persons concerned are prisoners of the State, I did not think proper to comply with her request.

"I have assured her I would transmit the letter to you, and did not doubt but that the application would meet your early concurrence.

"If you will be pleased to send the passport required, to me, I will convey it by a flag; the letter mentions one or more wagons. I dare say you will extend the indulgence as far as may be requisite and consistent with propriety.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"G. WASHINGTON."

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS WHARTON, ESQ., AT LANCASTER.

"Headquarters, Valley Forge, 6 April, 1778.

"Sir,—

"Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pleasants, and two other ladies connected with the Quakers confined at Winchester, Virginia, waited upon me this day for permission to pass to Yorktown, to endeavour to obtain the release of their friends.

"As they were admitted by the officer of the advanced picket to come within the camp, I thought it safer to suffer them to proceed than oblige them to return immediately to the city.

"You will judge of the propriety of permitting them to proceed further than Lancaster, but from appearances I imagine their request may be safely granted. As they seem much distressed—humanity pleads strongly in their behalf.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"G. WASHINGTON."

The committee of women on their arrival at Lancaster heard of the resolves of the Council, and applied directly to the President and Council to obtain an alteration in the place of our discharge, that we should be brought to the borough of Lancaster. This appears from an extract of a letter from Timothy Matlack to James Pemberton, dated 10th of April, 1778; and the resolve is as follows:

"IN COUNCIL.

"Lancaster, 10th April, 1778.

"Ordered, That the prisoners now in Virginia be brought to this borough, to be discharged there.

"Extract from the minutes,

"TIMOTHY MATLACK,

"Secretary."

JOURNAL CONTINUED.

Winchester, 16th day of 4th month, 1778.

James Pemberton received a letter from Timothy Matlack, dated Lancaster, 10th of April, 1778, as follows:

"A day or two ago, Council received from the Board of War an order to Mr. Holmes, at Winchester, to deliver the prisoners of this state under his care, to the order of the Council, who have sent forward Mr. Francis Y. Baily and Captain James Lang to receive and conduct you to this borough, where you will be se at liberty, soon after your arrival.

"It was intended to have set you at liberty at Shippensburg, but at the request of your wife, (Phebe Pemberton,) Susanna Jones, Mary Pleasants, and Eliza Drinker, the first resolution was altered. They came here with an address to Council, requesting the liberty of the prisoners, signed by the wives and near relations of your company.

"The time of their arrival here was very lucky, as a few hours of delay would have lost the opportunity of obtaining this alteration, which appears to me much in your favour.

"Although you may think, when you shall have read the enclosed law, 'For the further security of the government,' your case is sufficiently hard; the law requires your attention, and may greatly affect the property of some of you; it therefore deserves your most serious consideration on your way to

this place, as you will have to take such measures as your judgment may point out to you soon after your arrival here. It is necessary to say this, lest you should not advert to the law before your arrival."

The paragraph of the law to which Timothy Matlack referred is as follows. The law being entitled, "An Act for the further security of the Government."

"SECTION VI.—And whereas, many persons have frequently gone into the City of Philadelphia, since the same has been in possession of the British army, under a pretence of business, or of visiting friends, but probably with a view of giving intelligence to the enemy; for the prevention of which in future

"Be it enacted, That if any person whatsoever shall, from and after the publication of this act, on any pretence whatsoever, go by land or water through or from any part of this state into the said city while in possession of the British army, or within the lines of the enemy in any part of this state, without obtaining leave in writing for that purpose, from Congress, the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America, or of the Executive Council of this commonwealth, and shall be lawfully convicted thereof in any Court of Oyer and Terminer, and general jail delivery, or Court of Quarter Sessions of the peace for any county of this state, he or she shall be fined in any sum not less than fifty pounds, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court," &c.

From which it is evident that the resolve ordering us to be brought to Shippensburg would have subjected us to further difficulty, and that the design of our release was by no means justly accomplished, but which under Providence, by the arrival of the good women and their seasonable application to Council, was frustrated, by directing we should be brought to Lancaster.

18th of 4th month, and seventh day of the week.—We were informed that Captain James Lang and Francis Y. Baily arrived last night at Winchester. Some part of our company

went to confer with them, and they freely communicated the instructions they had concerning us.

They are to escort us to Lancaster, to see that we have civil treatment on our journey. But as they and the horses require rest, it would not be suitable for them to set out for two or three days. They therefore propose we should go on and join them at Fredericktown, Maryland, on the 24th, which is agreeable to the company.

RETURN JOURNEY TO PENNSYLVANIA.

On the 19th day of 4th month, 1778, first day of the week, having our baggage packed up and left in the care of our landlord, David Brown, to be sent to Winchester, we took leave of the family and set off about ten o'clock,—Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, and Samuel Pleasants, inmates of the house of David Brown, from the 16th of the 3d month,—having been very kindly entertained by him and his wife, Sarah Brown. We went to Centre Meeting in the morning, and at the conclusion of the meeting to-day, several Friends, who had shown us much kindness in the course of our exile, were present, and we took an affectionate leave of each other.

Several of us went over to Lewis Neal's to dinner, and there met with Alexander White, Esq., Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher, and Miers Fisher, who have lived there about a month.

We stayed at night at the Widow Smith's, the sister of our landlady, Sarah Brown. Were kindly entertained in a very genteel manner, the neatest accommodation for lodging, our horses well taken care of, and on a beautiful farm in good order.

20th day of 4th month, second day of the week.—Set off on a cool morning. Crossed the Shenandoah River in a ferry-boat; and crossed the South Mountain at very high and beau-

tiful prospects, and reached our friend Mahlon Janney's, in Loudon County, about five o'clock, where we were received by him and his wife Sarah with cordial welcome. We spent the evening there, and had most comfortable lodgings. He has a place about a mile from Fairfax meeting, with a mill, in a very fertile country, though the land generally is not so rich as it is in Frederick County.

21st.—A pleasant morning. Our friend Mahlon Janney went with us to John Hough's, where we met with our exiled brethren Thomas Wharton, Owen Jones, jun., Edward Pennington, and Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher, and Miers Fisher, who came over about noon, and went home with Joseph Janney.

22d.—We parted with our kind friends, Mahlon and Sarah Janney, to go toward Fredericktown. We crossed the Potomac River at the ferry, about three o'clock, and were very kindly entertained at R. Richardson's, where Dr. Parke and James Morton had been so kindly received on their way from Winchester.

23d, fourth day of the week.—We reached Fredericktown to breakfast. All our company being now assembled here, and where we met our escort, Captain James Lang and Francis Y. Baily, after a conference we agreed to meet again in the morning at Yorktown, which we accomplished.

24th, fifth day of the week.—We stopped at Yorktown at the house of George Updegraff, where General Gates, who resided next door, came to see us, and after we had our horses taken care of, we waited on him.

He received us with much openness and civility, and said "If I had been in Philadelphia at the time of your being arrested and sent into exile, I would have prevented it."

He told us that intelligence had just been received of resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain, and that they were proposed to be enacted into laws, repealing several of the acts oppressive to America, and appointing Commissioners to come over to treat with the Americans for settling the unhappy contest; at all of which, General Gates seemed much pleased, and

he said he thought Great Britain had agreed to all the Americans had heretofore asked or contended for.

After some further conversation respecting our exile and journey, we informed him we had agreed to meet our escorts at this town, and that we had come on by their permission, having left them at Fredericktown.

We were desirous to go on to Lancaster if he approved of it; and he cheerfully signified it under his handwriting, and mentioned that as the wind was very high, we might meet with delay at Susquehanna Ferry.

He therefore gave us an order to Major Eyre, the commanding officer there, to assist us over in a boat belonging to the public, which we accepted, as follows:

"Yorktown, 24th of April, 1778.

"Sir,—

"Mr. Thomas Fisher and his company are on their way to Lancaster, pursuant to an order of the Executive Council of this State. The General desires you will see them put over the river in your skiffs, provided the other boat cannot go.

"I am, your humble servant,

"Isaac Pierce.

"Major Eyre, at Wright's Ferry."

Went to see Thomas Mifflin, who offered the like assistance, and treated us with much civility; he wrote to Major Eyre to furnish us with horses to go to Lancaster, in case it would be impracticable to get our own over the river, which we all accepted, and went on after having made a short stay in the town to see many of our fellow-citizens, who had taken refuge there whilst the British army retained possession of Philadelphia.

Samuel Pleasants and James Pemberton set off about 11 o'clock, and found on our reaching Wright's Ferry at the Susquehanna River, the orders from General Gates and Thomas Mifflin to be very useful to us, the wind being high, and the boats on the opposite side. We were put over by four ship

carpenters, who were building boats for the American service, to convey the army over in case of need.

On our arrival on shore, after a ready passage, we found Major Eyre, in company with several other military officers, and on our making ourselves known to him, and delivering the letters from General Gates and Thomas Mifflin, he very cheerfully offered us horses to go to Lancaster, having been obliged to leave our own on the other side of the river, on account of the high wind; but having sufficient time, and observing the wind to abate, Major Eyre sent the ferry-boat over, and within about two hours the horses were brought to us.

About four o'clock we set off, and passing through Lancaster, reached J. Webb's, where we found all our female connexions, Phœbe Pemberton, Mary Pleasants, Susanna Jones, and Eliza Drinker, in good health, waiting our arrival; from them we had an account of their proceedings, and of their application to the members of the Council personally, and by a suitable memorial, to alter the place to which the Council had at first ordered us to be escorted and set at liberty.

25th of 4th month, seventh day of the week.—In the afternoon we met and appointed a committee to acquaint Thomas Wharton, jun., President of the Council, of our being come to Lancaster, agreeably to the appointment of Council; and that we were desirous to have an interview with that Board, being ready to answer any matters they had against us, in support of their depriving us of our liberty, and detaining us so long in exile.

He received the committee civilly, and informed us that the Council had adjourned till second day morning; that he would deliver our message when the Council met, but recommended us to commit to writing what we thought necessary to say to them. He stated it to be his opinion, that the Council would not admit us to have a personal interview with them.

26th day of 4th month, first day of the week.—We attended Friends' meeting at Lancaster. All our fellow-exiles

were present; and in the course of the day had a conversation with Timothy Matlack, Secretary to the Council.

Having been informed that the Council would not admit us to a personal interview, we drew up the following short memorial, to be presented to them at their meeting, on second day morning.

"TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"We the subscribers, inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, having been there arrested and banished to Winchester, in Virginia, by your authority, upon groundless suspicions, without any offence being laid to our charge; and being now brought to this place by your messenger, after a captivity of near eight months, think it our duty to apply to you to be reinstated in the full enjoyment of the liberty of which we have been so long deprived.

"We are your real friends,

Thomas Fisher,	Israel Pemberton,
Samuel R. Fisher,	James Pemberton,
Miers Fisher,	Edward Pennington,
Thomas Affleck,	John Pemberton,
Elijah Brown,	Thomas Wharton,
William Smith,	Henry Drinker,
Owen Jones, Jr.	Samuel Pleasants,
Charles Eddy,	Charles Jervis.

"Lancaster, 26th day of the 4th month, 1778."

Lancaster, 27th day of the 4th month.—Our company met this morning. We signed the memorial to the President and Council, gave it to the Secretary, to be laid before the Board; and after we had waited about two hours, the Secretary came to us, and informed us that the subject-matter had been duly considered and debated in Council, which had come to the following determination, and directed him to deliver us

a copy thereof, and to inform us *that any further application to them on the subject was unnecessary, as they would not hear us.*

"IN COUNCIL.

"Lancaster, April 27th, 1778.

"The case of the prisoners brought from Virginia, now in this borough, being considered, thereupon ordered:

"That they be immediately sent to Pottsgrove in the county of Philadelphia, and there be discharged from their confinement, and that they be furnished with a copy of this order, which shall be deemed a discharge.

"Extract from the minutes.

"TIMOTHY MATLACK,
"Secretary."

FORM OF A PASS TO EACH PRISONER.

"James Pemberton, of the city of Philadelphia, gentleman, one of the prisoners referred to by the above order of the Council, is hereby permitted, with his horses, servants, and baggage, to pass unmolested into the county of Philadelphia, agreeably to said order, which is to be respected as his discharge.

"TIMOTHY MATLACK,
"Secretary."

On reading the resolve, we represented to the Secretary the injustice of the proceeding of the Council, and their unreasonable determination to decline restoring us to our full liberty, that we might return to our families from whom they had in the most arbitrary manner violently separated us, and unjustly detained us in exile almost eight months, without exhibiting any manner of accusation against us; *and now, as at first, refusing to hear us in our defence.*

The Secretary told us that *any further application would be*

ineffectual. And he used many arguments to prevail on us to decline making it. On which we had to separate, after urging the Secretary to send forward the baggage-wagon, when it came to Lancaster, which he said should be taken care of.

John Pemberton was not easy to go on without having some further conversation with the Secretary, or some members of the Council; he being dissatisfied with the resolve relating to our release. Several others of the party proceeded part of the way towards Pottsgrove, and some waited till morning.

28th.—John Pemberton had an opportunity to converse with the Secretary, and although he did not succeed in obtaining an alteration of the resolve of Council, he concluded to go on with us on the direct road towards the city. The females went on in the carriage they came in, and Israel Morris attended them on horseback.

After we had rode on about a mile, we were met by several Friends coming on to see us, who understood we were not satisfied with the manner of our releasement; we parted with them after we had gone on a few miles, and we reached our friend, Robert Valentine's, in the evening.

We concluded that our friend, Israel Morris, should go on early in the morning, to General Washington, at headquarters, with the pass given him by the President and Council for the women, which required an endorsement from the General, to enable them to return into the city; and a few lines being drawn up for that purpose, directed to him, they signed it.

29th.—Fourth day of the week. A pleasant cool morning. Israel Morris set off early, with the letter and pass to General Washington. Several Friends came to see us, and we went on to Edward Jones's at Radnor, where by appointment Israel Morris met us, having accomplished the business he went about with expedition; and he brought us likewise a pass signed by the General's Secretary, Tench Tilghman, Esquire, for permission for us four persons to proceed to Philadelphia unmolested, which was satisfactory to all of us, and we esteemed it a proof of the General's sense of justice and politeness.

About three o'clock we passed the picket guard, at the sign of the Sorrel Horse, at Radnor, where Colonel Livingston commanded; we showed him our papers, which he said were quite sufficient. He invited us to come into his house, but we acknowledged his civility, and pursued our journey. As it was too late to go into the city, we went to the house of our friend, John Roberts, which we reached about six o'clock, where we were kindly received by his wife, John Roberts having been under the necessity to reside in the city since it has been in possession of the British forces, in consequence of some exception the Americans had taken against him, and by whom he had suffered considerably in his property.

30th day of the 4th month, 1778, fifth day of the week.—We set off from John Roberts's about 9 o'clock in the morning, and although we were under pleasant feelings at our return, these were considerably abated by observing, as we approached to the city, the devastations committed by the English army in their excursions around it. The fences being generally destroyed, the fields of grass and corn left exposed, houses demolished, and left desolate, which sorrowful appearance extends for some miles round the city.

Thus, through the favour of Divine Providence, we were restored to our families, in a way and at a time we had little reason to expect it, which is worthy our humble gratitude, in addition to the many mercies we have experienced in our exile. And it should be a cause of further confidence in Divine Providence, to endure such dispensations as may be permitted to us, through the future part of our lives.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding the Narrative of the Friends in Exile, it should be considered that their banishment was one of those trials of faith which the Friends so frequently had to undergo in Europe in order to sustain their peaceable principles; and which they had hoped they would never have to experience in a country where they had secured the liberty of conscience as a birthright to all the people of the land.

No charges of a political character could be sustained against the exiles, and the examination which was made of their conduct during the period of their banishment, eventually left them without accusation—so that when party spirit subsided, the government was embarrassed by the reproach of having deeply injured innocent citizens, towards whom they had committed an act of great injustice.

As soon as the troubles of the Revolution subsided, and the organization of a consistent government had taken place, by which freedom and the rights of man were restored to society, a just estimate of their principles and conduct became once more acknowledged; and the position they had before retained was fully understood, and granted them, wherever their civil or political relations extended.

In acknowledging the order of government and of society, and in rendering it their support as good citizens, they were always useful and distinguished; and their views as a religious Society were respected and esteemed.

Soon after the institution of the present form of government, they found it to be their duty to appoint a committee of their Yearly Meeting to wait upon the President, General Washington, by a respectful address, which was delivered to him in person; this address is so expressive, both of their sincere and loyal feelings, and of the character of the Society, it is thought

proper to insert it. That their conduct had been fully understood by General Washington, will appear in his reply, and this may be valued not only as an expression of his sound judgment, but which assuredly would not have been given except upon just and impartial consideration.

The following is a copy of the very interesting address to the President of the United States, (George Washington,) presented him by a deputation from the Society of Friends, in 1789, and of his reply.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE ADDRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS, FROM THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND THE WESTERN PARTS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

Being met in this our annual assembly, for the well ordering the affairs of our Religious Society, and the promotion of universal righteousness, our minds have been drawn to consider that the Almighty, who ruleth in Heaven and in the kingdoms of men, having permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country, we are fervently concerned that the rulers of the people may be favoured with the council of God; the only sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trusts committed to their charge, and in an especial manner, that Divine wisdom and grace vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station to which thou art appointed.

We are sensible thou hast obtained a great place in the esteem and affection of people of all denominations, over whom thou presidest, and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honour and service, that thus thou mayest be an happy instrument in his hands, for the suppression of vice, infidelity, and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons

or concerns of men, so that righteousness and peace, which truly exalt a nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for prosperity and happiness.

The free toleration which the citizens of these States enjoy, in the public worship of the Almighty agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings, and we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in matters of faith and practice; believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright-hearted of all nations, kingdoms, and people, so we trust we may justly claim it from others;—a full persuasion that the divine principle we profess, leads into harmony and concord, we can take no part in warlike measures on any occasion or under any power, but we are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in godliness and honesty among men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigencies of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government; acknowledging those that rule well to be worthy of double honour, —having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a religious Society, with fomenting or countenancing tumult or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any. But as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee, that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee, and those in authority over us, with prayers that thy presidency may, under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people, that through the increase of morality and true religion, Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with the continuance of peace, the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and enable us gratefully to acknowledge His manifold mercies.

And it is our earnest concern that He may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory, and that finally, when all terrestrial honours shall pass away, thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness, in the mansions of peace and joy for ever.

Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, held at Philadelphia, by adjournment, from the 28th of the 9th month to the 3d of the 10th month inclusive, 1789.

(Signed) Nicholas Waln,
Clerk.

THE ANSWER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO THE ADDRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS, FROM THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND THE WESTERN PARTS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

Gentlemen,—

I received with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration, and for my personal happiness. We have reason to rejoice in the prospect, that the national government, which, by the power of Divine Providence, was formed by the common councils, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them; to render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting. Government being among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that

society or the state can with propriety expect or demand, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith which they may prefer or profess. *Your principles and conduct are well known to me*, and it is doing the people called Quakers, no more than justice to say that (except their declining to share with others in the burthens of common defence) there is no denomination among us, who are more exemplary and useful citizens. I assure you very especially, that in my opinion, the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interest of the nation may justify and permit.

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The following "Observations" are deemed too important to be placed in the Appendix. Though closely connected with the Narrative, they could not from their nature form a part of it.

They offer a clear and candid exposition by the Exiles of their sense of the wrongs under which they suffered.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARGES

CONTAINED IN SEVERAL RESOLVES OF CONGRESS,

AGAINST THE SOCIETY OF PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS IN GENERAL, AND SOME MEMBERS OF THAT SOCIETY IN PARTICULAR,

Who, with several of their fellow-citizens, were banished from the city of Philadelphia, and are now confined at the town of Winchester, in Virginia.

The subscribers, inhabitants of Philadelphia, having been imprisoned and sent into banishment to a country where they are strangers, in so precipitate a manner that they had not an opportunity of defending themselves against the pretended offences laid to their charge, think it a duty they owe to themselves and their country, (whose true interests they trust they have at heart,) to make some remarks on certain publications made by order of Congress, containing reflections on the Society of people called Quakers, in general, and intended to justify the extraordinary proceedings against them.

These publications consist of certain resolves of Congress, passed between the 28th day of August and the 5th day of September, and of eleven papers mentioned in those resolves, and published in consequence thereof.

It appears from the resolve of the 28th day of August, that a committee appointed to take into consideration certain papers referred to them, reported, "That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest between Great Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth, who profess themselves to belong to the Society of people commonly called Quakers, render it certain and notorious that those persons are with much rancour and bitterness disaffected to the American cause. "That as those persons will

have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and in various other ways to injure the counsels and arms of America. That when the enemy, in the month of December, 1776, were bending their progress towards the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication addressed, 'To our Friends and Brethren in religious profession, in these and the adjacent Provinces,' signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the Meeting of Sufferings held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th day of the 12th month, 1776, was published, and as the committee was credibly informed, circulated among many members of the Society called Quakers throughout the different States. That there is strong reason to apprehend that those persons maintain a correspondence and connexion highly prejudicial to the public safety not only in this but in the respective States of America."*

This we apprehend is the whole of the charge exhibited against that Society in general, or us as individuals. In consequence of which, resolves were formed to recommend to the Council of Pennsylvania to apprehend and secure eleven persons by name, and all others who had in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to "the cause of America," and "that the records and papers of the Meetings of Sufferings in the several States, be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as might be of a political nature be forthwith transmitted to Congress."

As we have heretofore given the public an account of the arbitrary manner in which the Council executed these recommendations of Congress, and refused to hear us in our defence, it will be unnecessary here to repeat it; we shall therefore proceed to examine the charges insinuated against the Society in general; the application of them to us in particular; and to remark on the papers published in support of those charges.

And first we acknowledge that we are members of the

* See page 284, of Appendix, for a copy of this Address.

Society of people called Quakers, which can be no cause of offence, inasmuch as our religious principles have been known and tolerated for a century in every part of the world where any of us have lived; and if some of that Society are possessed of considerable wealth, yet we cannot see why that should be made a part of the accusation against them, unless it were shown that it was dishonestly acquired or improperly applied; that we are disaffected to the true interests of America, so far as we are capable of judging of them, we positively deny; and rancour and bitterness are so opposite to the precepts and doctrines of the Gospel, in which we believe, that to be actuated thereby, would render us inconsistent with ourselves, and deprive us of that character which our general conduct has obtained, nor can it be reconciled to common sense, that natives of America, whose parents, wives, children, friends, and connexions, and whose estates are here, should be inimical to a country in whose prosperity their happiness depends.

The several testimonies published by the representatives of our Society do declare the principles we profess with respect to war; but we deny that they can be justly construed into disaffection to the interests of America, as will clearly appear when we have remarked on them. The uniform tenor of our conduct and conversation we trust, has been so peaceable and inoffensive, that had it been known to the Congress, it would have been so far from affording grounds for persecution, that it would have amounted to a justification against the insinuations our enemies have suggested.

We believe this is the first instance in history where men have been apprehended and condemned upon so general a charge as the tenor of their conduct and conversation, when there was so little intercourse between the judges and the parties, that they could form no judgment but from the reports of others; such was the case with us that none of the delegates in Congress could determine what they had against us of their own knowledge, but must have procured whatever information they had *from our enemies.*

If the accusation originated with themselves, they as accusers ought not at the same time to have been our judges—and if they were not our accusers, as judges they ought to have stated some particular offence, and confronted us with the witnesses to support the charge. A criminal committed after a fair trial by a jury of his country is always asked, what he has to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, in pursuance of the verdict? We were condemned and sentenced to banishment, before we even knew that we were accused; and that, not for any crime, but for the tenor of our conduct and conversation; such a mode of administering justice is sufficient to alarm every freeman in America, for no man can be safe while those in power will listen to the whispered accusation of a concealed enemy, resolve that the party is guilty, and refuse to hear his defence,

The charge of having it in our power to communicate intelligence to the enemy, may with equal justice be made against every member of Congress, but it is a new species of reasoning to infer from thence that it would be their, or our inclination so to do; for we well know the consequence of a discovery, and it might as well be inferred, that because we had it in our power, so we were inclined to destroy ourselves.

But besides that security which the laws have provided to prevent such communication, we are bound by a more solemn tie than any human laws can make; for, as we have heretofore declared in a paper addressed to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, "Although at the time many of our forefathers were convinced of the truth which we, their descendants now profess, great fluctuations and various changes and turnings happened in government, and they were greatly vilified and persecuted for a firm and steady adherence to their peaceable and inoffensive principles, yet they were preserved from any thing tending to promote insurrections, conspiracies, or the shedding of blood; and during the troubles, which by permission of Divine Providence have latterly prevailed, we have steadily maintained our religious principles in these respects,

and have not held any correspondence with the contending parties as is unjustly insinuated, but *are withheld and restrained* from being concerned in such matters *by that divine principle of grace and truth* which we profess to be our *guide and rule through life;* this is of more force and obligation than all the tests and declarations devised by men."

If even such an inclination had appeared, (which we firmly and utterly deny,) we apprehend no system of law hitherto established ever gave cognizance over the *inclinations* of the subject, unless we recur to the Popish Inquisition, where we acknowledge precedents for the proceedings against us may be found; and before we leave this subject, it may not be improper to answer an objection of the President and Council, which, though no part of the original charge, appears among the resolves of Congress now under consideration. They assert that "few of the Quakers among these, are willing to make any promise of any kind." This we declare is not a true state of the fact, for we were taken up and confined for refusing to enter into an engagement, conceived in such terms as implied an acknowledgment of guilt in the article of giving intelligence to the commander of the British forces," and we would have surrendered our right to be heard in our defence, had we been weak enough to have submitted to this for the sake of a short and uncertain respite from banishment; we should have given some colour of probability to the suspicions they entertained, and drawn a blemish on ourselves which our conduct never merited.

With respect to the charge of "a seditious publication," dated the 20th of the 12th month, 1776, we cannot but express our surprise that any thing contained in the epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings, of that date, could be so misunderstood or perverted as to be styled *seditious;* we shall, however, forbear remarking further on it until it comes in the order of publication, to be considered as a part of the proof against us.

To the last part of the charge we say, that if after the example of the primitive churches to maintain a correspondence with our brethren in religious fellowship; to communicate and

receive a state of the society; to encourage one another in a steadfast and upright walking in the pure principles of the Gospel, and preserve the uniform practice of the precepts of our holy Redeemer in the members of the Society wherever they are dispersed—if this is highly prejudicial to the public safety, then indeed is our Society culpable; for from our first appearance as a people upwards of a century ago, such a correspondence and connexion has always been maintained and preserved among us, nor has it ever been interrupted or considered as prejudicial by any government under which we have lived till the present instance. And to deny us this right of admonishing our members to keep to their religious principles, and to avoid every thing which has a tendency to lead them astray, would be to deprive us of the benefit of that toleration which our ancestors obtained through many severe trials and persecutions, and which they purchased as their inheritance in this country at the dear rate of leaving their native land, to encounter the hardships and perils of settling a wilderness at their own expense, and which was after some time confirmed to them in every part of the British empire. This toleration our Society has never abused, and we dare challenge our adversaries to prove a single instance where any of our meetings have been, or now are perverted to any thing prejudicial to the public safety.

From the whole of this charge, and the manner in which we have been treated under pretence of its being applicable to us, it seems rather intended to pave the way for depriving our religious Society of the enjoyment of toleration, than an accusation against a few individuals; to be more pointed at the peaceable principles we profess and wish to put in practice, than at any personal behaviour in this time of calamity; and to be a revival of that cruel persecution which raged with much *rancour and bitterness* in New England, about the middle of the last century, against the members of our Society, rather than a prosecution of offenders against the public good.

Having made a few observations on the charge, we shall

now proceed to examine the evidence accompanying it; and we trust it will be found insufficient to prove any offence against the Society in general, or us in particular. But before we proceed, it is worthy of notice, that in order to fix the work of a printer upon the Society, the publishers have transposed the papers out of the order of time in which they were originally given forth. The epistle dated the 5th day of the 1st month, 1775, was published without its knowledge, in a New York paper, with a preface affixed by the printer, and with a design to make the sentiments therein expressed, appear as a work of the Society; the testimony dated the 24th day of the same month is first inserted, and the epistle of a prior date, with that preface, follows. By thus artfully introducing it between two of their papers, the unwary are induced to believe it was a performance of the Society. We just hint at this matter to show what unfair means are used to excite unjust prejudices; and now return to the papers.

The subject-matter of the first three are a declaration of our Christian principles, and an earnest exhortation to the members of our Society to avoid entering into any measures then carrying on for obtaining a redress of grievances, tending to lead them into warlike preparations, which are so opposite to the basis on which our religious system is founded, that the one cannot exist with the other. To persons who are acquainted with us, and our testimony against all wars and fightings, this cannot appear strange; nor will any, when they are informed that we have invariably professed these principles to the world for more than a century, be surprised that the representatives of our Society should endeavour to caution our members against a conduct inconsistent with their profession; and although these papers are calculated to discourage the unwary from being led into such inconsistencies, yet there is no sentence in them that could justly give offence to other Christian professors, who are not united with us in this respect. The clauses distinguished by italic characters, are far exceeded in expressions of attachment to the king and constitution of Great Britain by what the Congress themselves have declared in

divers of their publications, even of later date than some of these, some instances of which we here subjoin.

DECLARATION OF CONGRESS TO THE PEOPLE, DATED JULY 6TH, 1775.

"Our forefathers, inhabitants of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom, at the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from whence they removed.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that *union which has so long and so happily* subsisted between us, and which *we sincerely wish to see restored.*"

ADDRESS OF CONGRESS TO THE KING, JULY 8TH, 1775.

"Attached to your Majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity adorned with that signal and lasting glory that hath attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame."

From these quotations it is evident, that if the professions of

attachment to the British government contained in the papers in question were criminal, the Congress were not less guilty than the authors of the papers.

The fourth paper is that styled in the minutes of Congress a seditious publication, and upon a careful revisal of it, we think it strange that men of common sense should so far misunderstand it as to give it that epithet. It begins with an affectionate salutation "To our friends and brethren in religious profession," to whom only it is directed, and exhorts them to a reliance on Him who has promised to be with his faithful followers always even to the end of the world; it cites a text from the New Testament, encouraging them to bear with patience the sufferings they may have to undergo; it recites a passage of an epistle from our ancient friend George Fox, dated in the year 1685, reminding them "that by keeping in the Lord's power, and peaceable truth, which is over all, and therein seeking the good of all, neither outward sufferings, persecutions nor any outward thing, which is below, will hinder or break their heavenly fellowship in the light and spirit of Christ," from whence it infers "that we may with Christian firmness and fortitude withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by assistance, to join in carrying on war, and of prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of that happy Constitution under which we and others long enjoyed tranquillity and peace; the remaining three paragraphs contain nothing but general though earnest exhortations to our members, to adhere to the principles they profess; nor have the publishers thought proper to distinguish any part of them as obnoxious. Let us then examine if the former parts have any tincture of sedition in them. And we have no doubt but a statement of a few facts, well known at that time in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, will be sufficient to explain and show the expediency of them.

About the time this epistle was sent forth, some instances happened of persons of *our Society being seized when on their lawful business, without even the colour of law* to authorize it, and confined, for refusing to bear arms or find substitutes in their room; and from others, *tests not warranted by any law*, were attempted to be extorted by military officers. These arbitrary proceedings led the meeting to consider that the youth and the unwary might be intimidated into a departure from those principles in which they had been educated, and which they professed. To prevent which they thought it their duty to give forth their brotherly caution and advice; nor can any who are willing to allow liberty of conscience to the Society, condemn them. It should here be observed, that all these papers were printed and openly dispersed among our members, and some of them were sent to the members of Congress then in Philadelphia, before they appeared abroad. Had they contained any thing seditious or unwarrantable, why was not a disapprobation of them then expressed? Why was the censure of them deferred until near nine months after the date of the last of them? But when the subject of this epistle is duly considered, it must evidently appear to be intended to discourage the members of our Society from bearing arms in all cases whatsoever. How then can men professing candour apply it to any particular case, and interpret it as a *seditious publication, evidencing that the authors were with much rancour and bitterness disaffected to the cause of America?*

"The happy Constitution under which we and others have long enjoyed tranquillity and peace," are words which, we understand, have given offence to some of those who have been engaged in forming a new one; they have thought it derogatory to their skill as legislators, that a work which they had rejected, should be spoken of with so much respect. But we who have known the happiness enjoyed in Pennsylvania under the mild administration of so wholesome a form of government, cannot but express our regret that it was so little esteemed as to be wholly set at nought. It was formed by a man, who as a

worthy ancient of our Society, and a wise legislator, stands as high in the page of history as any of his cotemporaries; in framing it, he consulted with a number of our ancestors who held the same noble principles with himself, and adapted it so wisely to the purposes of a free government, that the learned Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, bears this testimony in favour of him and his work:* "A character so extraordinary in the institutions of Greece, has shown itself lately in the dregs and corruptions of modern times. A very honest legislator has formed a people to whom probity seems as natural as bravery to the Spartans. William Penn is a real Lycurgus; and though the former made peace his principal aim, as the latter did war, yet they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people; in the ascendency they had over freemen; in the prejudices which they overcame; and in the passions which they subdued."

The experience of near an hundred years has evinced the truth of this learned man's observation; and it was but a just tribute to the memory of the honourable founder, to notice the happiness enjoyed under the "generous plan of liberty" handed down from him. And when it is considered that under his constitution, no superiority was allowed to one religious society over another, but all were put on the footing of brethren *entitled to an equal share of that liberty which is the gift of Heaven*—that no persecution was ever waged by any persons exercising power under it, and that as soon as it was overturned and a new form introduced, *a spirit of persecution was raised, that threatened our Society*, the descendants of the first settlers, with the loss of their religious liberty, which their ancestors had purchased at so dear a rate,—and that actually began to hold cognizance over our consciences,—it cannot, therefore, be matter of wonder that such expressions were used in the epistle referred to; and we believe a great majority of the people of Pennsylvania concur in our opinion.

* Vol. i. page 51.

Upon the whole, this epistle is couched in terms so full of Christian charity, that we cannot, as we before observed, but be surprised that such invidious reflections should be cast upon it. We have been the longer in our observations on this paper, because it has been the pretext for much calumny and abuse of the Society.

Although this epistle was never inserted in any of the public papers with the privity of the meeting, yet illiberal censures have been cast upon it for republishing it, and it has been represented to be done with a view "to discourage the militia of Pennsylvania from marching at a time of danger." This is another instance of the uncandid construction put upon the acts of the Society.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania prepared a bill last spring, to compel all persons under particular circumstances to subscribe a test, and published it for the consideration of the people at large; this, together with the reasons that subsisted at the time of first issuing the epistle, was thought a sufficient cause for reviving it, by directing it to be again read in some of our religious meetings: *whatever other publication of it was made, was not with the concurrence of the Society;* and indeed if such revisal was in reality so improper at that time, *how is it to be accounted for, that it should again be published by authority of Congress*, who now so freely condemn it, at a time much more critical than either of the former—namely, at the late approach of the British army to Philadelphia? But men are often insensible of absurdities when they occur in a favourite pursuit!

We come now to the minutes of the several monthly and quarterly meetings, which *were illegally forced out of the hands of the clerks, by virtue of a general warrant, with a design to furnish evidence against us.* But whatever effect might have been expected from them, they will be found wholly void of offence. And here it may be proper for the information of such as are unacquainted with our method of transacting business, to observe, that at the time our ancestors sepa-

rated themselves from other religious societies, and formed themselves into a body, divers laws subsisted, with which they conceived it their religious duty not actively to comply; they were of course subjected to forfeitures and penalties which, by the defect of the laws in not guarding against the malice of their persecutors in making excessive distresses, were so heavy upon many, as to impoverish and ruin them. It became the concern of their brethren to relieve and assist such as well by counsel as by supplying their necessary wants; for this purpose a committee of the Society was appointed by the name of the Meeting for Sufferings, which has been continually kept up in London for Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

To this meeting the inferior meetings send an account of all the sufferings in support of our testimony, from time to time. When our forefathers settled in America, they established, as occasion required, the same Christian discipline for the well ordering of the affairs of the Society, as had been used and approved in England; and among others a Meeting for Sufferings was appointed, and has been kept up for many years at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and in the course of their proceedings, the minutes now published were sent from the several monthly to the quarterly meetings, in order to be by them forwarded to the Meeting for Sufferings, that through it the Yearly Meeting might be informed of the state of the Society, and of the trespass upon the sufferers. Nor is this new among us, or calculated for the present occasion, but the constant, uniform practice of our Society. As to the matter of those minutes—it is a plain narrative of facts, incontestably true, and notorious in the places where they happened. Nor is the manner of them exceptionable, as all the expressions are true in themselves, and descriptive of the several matters alluded to.

We are now to take notice of the papers *said to be* found among the prisoners' baggage on Staten Island; and we regret that our justification requires us to use language, which in other circumstances we would wish to avoid. We do, however, with a firm confidence undertake to say, that so

much of those papers as imports that the intelligence there mentioned was given from a meeting of our Society, is a *direct falsehood and forgery;* and although we have never yet seen the original papers, nor heard of the circumstances attending the finding of them, so as to enable us to search for proof in vindication of our brethren in that part of the country, or to discover the marks of deceit which generally accompany counterfeits, yet we trust sufficient evidence appears upon the face of the publication to warrant our assertion.

General Sullivan, in his letter to Congress, dated Hanover, 25th August, 1777, speaks of "one from the Yearly Meeting of Spanktown," but whether it was intended that the whole of what follows should be considered in that light, or only those six lines entitled "Intelligence from Jersey, 19th August, 1777," and subscribed, "Spanktown Yearly Meeting," we cannot determine; but will show that no part is chargeable on any of our members; and in order to arrive at the greater precision, we shall speak of the three articles separately.

The first consists of eight questions, which at first view are found to be such as must come from persons seeking intelligence, and not from those who were to give it. We may therefore safely conclude that this was not the work of any of our members, but merely a set of instructions to the officers of the British army, to direct their inquiries in case they should meet with persons capable of giving information.

The second is the paper said to come from Spanktown Yearly Meeting; and indeed it is unfavourable for the contriver of this piece of business, that he had not obtained better information concerning our meetings in those parts, and attended a little more to the dates of events; and it is happy for us, deprived as we are of all opportunity of clearing up the matter by other evidence, *that he has put into his composition several things which wholly destroy its credit.*

And first, it is highly improbable that any body of people would subscribe a paper containing intelligence which, if de-

tected, would endanger their lives. Persons concerned in such dangerous transactions always avoid describing themselves in such a manner as to be known to the opposite party, in case their correspondence should be intercepted; and the members of any meeting must be supposed to be idiots before such conduct could be believed of them. Besides, the constant practice of all our meetings every where, is that no paper issues from them without the signature of the clerk, or some other persons in their behalf, as all the genuine papers published by order of Congress, show.

Secondly.—There is not, and never has been, a yearly meeting of our Society held at Spanktown, as the inventor of this affair might have known had he made the least inquiry. It is true that a quarterly meeting is held at Rahway, part of which place, we understand, is known by the nickname of Spanktown, but never so called in any of our proceedings. The paper published immediately before the extract of General Sullivan's letter, shows the manner in which that meeting is styled by the Society, to wit, "our quarterly meeting, held in Rahway." This meeting was held and finished on the 18th day of that month, and we are assured by one of our company now confined at Winchester, who attended it, at every sitting from beginning to end, that no paper, or intelligence of any public nature, kind, or tendency whatsoever, was made therein.

But lastly, the author of this counterfeited paper, besides his want of knowledge of the meetings, the times at which they are held, and the names by which they are called, has been guilty of an oversight in the date of his intelligence, equally fatal to the credibility of his work. He makes his newly-constituted Yearly Meeting at Spanktown say, "It is said General Howe landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay, but cannot learn the particular spot, nor when." He dates this the 19*th day of August.* From the public papers we find that the fleet containing General Howe's army was *on that day*, at or near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and that it did not arrive at

Turkey Point, near the head of it, till the 22d, of which the earliest intelligence was brought to Philadelphia on the 23d, and might have reached Spanktown and Hanover on the 24th or 25th; before which time the paper in question could not have received its present form. How then can it be true that it was framed at Spanktown on the 19th, as itself imports, or that it was found on Staten Island on the 22d, as General Sullivan has asserted!!

We submit these facts to the consideration of the public, *not doubting but they will acquit our Society of being the authors of it*, whatever opinions they may entertain of any others.

The third article is a letter dated Sunday, July 28th, 1777; but as it is not even insinuated to be written by any of our members, and carries in its date a style not used by our Society, it is unnecessary to observe further upon it, than that although it is of a much earlier date than the preceding one, it is here transposed (as was done in a former instance), in order that it might pass with the unthinking for a work of the pretended Spanktown Yearly Meeting.

These observations, we think, are sufficient to show that nothing contained in our "several testimonies" supports the charge exhibited against our Society; but on the contrary, that the welfare of mankind, and extending the glad tidings of peace on earth, and good will to men, was the only aim of the authors of those papers. And with respect to our conduct and conversation, we need say no more than that our characters have been such as to be proof against the general calumny of any body of people whatever, and will remain so until evidence supplies the place of assertion.

Before we conclude, it will be proper to observe upon another circumstance, which fully shows that our persecutors were satisfied of our innocence before they executed their unjust sentence upon us, although they had not the candour to acknowledge their error by doing us justice.

It appears by the resolves of the Congress and Council, dated the 5th of September, that both those bodies, after all

the fears and jealousies they had expressed, were willing to enlarge us, if we would have "sworn or affirmed allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania." This was a direct relinquishment of all the charges exhibited against us, and from that moment *we stood in no other point of view than offenders against the Act of Assembly commonly called the Test Law;* if by that law we were not compellable to subscribe the test, then have the Council punished us without any other authority than their own arbitrary will, and they might with equal justice have apprehended and sent from their families, every inhabitant who had declined taking it.

As we declined accepting our liberty on those terms, it may not be improper to consider the nature of tests in general, and show that our refusal to take those offered to us, was not a breach of the law, nor punishable in any manner whatever.

That no government ever derived stability from tests imposed on the people at large, is a fact notorious to every person conversant in history. If the constitution and the administration of justice be such, that the inhabitants derive the blessings of liberty from it, their common interest in supporting it, forms the surest obligation; if it be otherwise, men of ambition who have interested views, by oppressing the people, are the only persons who would propose to continue it by enforcing them under the dread of perjury, to submit to arbitrary laws.

Designing men have never failed to cloak their ambition under specious appearances; they are ingenious at forming plausible pretexts for withdrawing their allegiance from the sovereign or state to whom they have sworn it, nor can an instance be found of oaths preventing a revolution. The allegiance sworn by the Long Parliament to Charles the First, did not hinder them from bringing him to the scaffold—nor the tests taken by General Monk and his army to the Commonwealth of England, prevent them from restoring Charles the Second to the crown.—They are in fact nothing more than an engine to oppress the more virtuous part of the people. Witness the use made of them during the days of Cromwell, and

for some years after the Restoration. Many of the peaceable conscientious inhabitants were grievously persecuted for refusing them, while those, to check whom they were principally intended, took them and observed them no longer than it suited their views. During that unhappy contest we find abundant reason to reject the use of tests. The same persons for the sake of the places they held or coveted to hold, were induced to swear and recant many direct contradictions in the course of a few years, to the great dishonour of religion, and the weakening the force of every moral obligation.

Every conscientious man when he submits to the solemnity of an oath or affirmation, means to perform it in the fullest sense; but how can any man who takes a test to either of the contending parties, be sure in the present unsettled state of affairs, that he can hold his integrity a single week? The face of things may in a few days be changed, and by the events of war he may fall into the hands of the opposite party, and be tempted for the safety of his property, his life, or his family, to do some act in violation of his solemn engagement to the great injury of his conscience; nor will the common excuse of force serve him in the hour of reflection as a palliation, for the mind not being subject to compulsion receives a lasting wound wherever it assents to any evil for the ease of the body.

Nor is it a practice among nations at war, to compel the peaceable inhabitants of an invaded country to swear fidelity until by the ratification of peace it is confirmed to the conqueror; and if there be some instances to the contrary, they have been condemned by all writers of liberal sentiments.

If it be objected that in times of difficulty it is necessary to bind suspected persons by an oath or affirmation of fidelity, we answer that some cause of suspicion should be proved against a man before he is publicly stigmatized, and if upon a hearing he cannot clear up the suspicions, it is then time enough to call for surety for his good behaviour.

These observations, we hope, will be sufficient to convince the candid that general tests are inconsistent with true liberty,

unnecessary in the present situation of America, and subversive of the morality of the inhabitants.

But if in any circumstances it be necessary for the Legislature to enact a general test law, such test can never authorize the executive powers to inflict heavy punishments on those who have never committed any breach of it.

The power of the Council of Pennsylvania in a business of this nature, is nothing more than that of justices of the peace, which is given to them as counsellors by the Declaration of Rights. This power could neither be enlarged nor abridged by the recommendations of Congress. We must therefore consider the Council as acting in that capacity. And a bare perusal of the test law is sufficient to show that no justice had power to tender it to men who quietly stayed in the county where they usually resided; and as none of us were found beyond the limits prescribed, we never could be considered as liable to the penalties of refusing it; and even if we were, the measure of the punishment has been exceeded an hundred fold. With what face then can any set of men pretend to assert the cause of liberty who are found in so flagrant a violation of its most essential parts? What security can the inhabitants of Pennsylvania have for the enjoyment of their unalienable rights under governors who have thus publicly substituted their own arbitrary will in the place of their own positive law.

Thus, we apprehend, we have fully answered and refuted every charge and suspicion that has been published against us, and have shown that the proceedings of the Council of Pennsylvania founded upon the recommendation of the Congress, have been a violent exertion of power against right. And we cannot but be sorry that the Congress should have given rise to such a course of conduct, and in the progress of it, have countenanced it.

They listened to insinuations without any just ground, the authors of which were concealed—they censured a whole religious Society with which they were very little acquainted—they condemned a number of innocent individuals of that

Society upon the general charge of their conduct and conversation, without hearing them in their defence—they caused the Council to apprehend them and many others, and consented to their banishment to a distant country before any legal conviction—and published to the world the groundless suspicions and falsehoods by which themselves had been misled, in order to excite prejudices against others.

When a number of us whom they had accused and condemned, applied to Congress for a hearing, they left it to the option of the Council to grant it or not at their pleasure, and recommended such a hearing as is not known in any free country, to wit, to hear *what we could allege to "remove their suspicions;"* thus instead of a fixed charge being supported against us, *the burthen of proving negatives was to be thrown upon us.* And when the Council refused even such a hearing, Congress, who profess to be the guardians of American freedom, suffered the Council to send us away from our families at a time when the noise of armies engaged in battle approaching the city, was heard within the walls of our habitations, when our tender wives and helpless children required a double portion of care and attention from us.

Had we been allowed to defend ourselves before an impartial tribunal, as every man who boasts the rank of a freeman is entitled to when his character is called in question, we should not now have had occasion to trouble the public with a written defence, which we have endeavoured to make as concise as the nature of our case would admit; and we trust that our attempt to vindicate ourselves as individuals and as a *religious Society*, who have ever been generally reputed useful members of the community, will not be unacceptable to those who wish to know the truth and judge for themselves.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN THE YEARS 1777, 1778; AND FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, FROM THE 4TH OF MARCH, 1777, TO THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1779; INCLUDING THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

(Dunlap's Edition.)

JOURNAL OF CONGRESS.

Monday, August 25th, 1777.

Whereas the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware are threatened with an immediate invasion from a powerful army, who have already landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay; and whereas the principles of policy and self-preservation require that all persons who may reasonably be suspected of aiding or abetting the cause of the enemy, may be prevented from pursuing measures injurious to the general weal:

Resolved, That the executive authorities of the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware, be requested to cause all persons within their respective states, notoriously disaffected, forthwith to be apprehended, disarmed, and secured, till such time as the respective states think they may be released without injury to the common cause.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, to cause a diligent search to be made in the houses of all the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, who have not manifested their attachment to the American cause, for firearms, swords and bayonets;

that the owners of the arms so found be paid for them at an appraised value, and that they be delivered to such of the militia of the State of Pennsylvania who are at present unarmed and have been called into the field.

MINUTES OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Wednesday, August 27th, 1777.

Present, His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Esq., President, Honourable George Bryan, Vice-President, John Baily, Esq., Jonathan Hodge, Esq., and John Proctor, Esq.

(N.B. The members not in attendance were John Hart, Jacob Morgan, John Hambright, Thomas Urie, Thomas Scott, James Edgar, John Evans, in all twelve members.)

TIMOTHY MATLACK,
Secretary.

The Congress by a resolve of yesterday, founded on evident necessity, and sound policy,

Resolved, That the colonel or commanding officer of each regiment of the city militia, do appoint one or more officers, and a sufficient number of men in each ward, who shall search the houses of all such of the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, who have not manifested their attachment to the American cause, for firearms, &c.

And another resolve of Congress, of the same date, "requesting this state to cause all persons within the same, notoriously disaffected, forthwith to be apprehended, disarmed, and secured, till such time as the state shall think they may be released without injury to the common cause," the same was referred to further consideration.

CONGRESS.

Thursday, August 28, 1777.

A letter of the 25th, from General Sullivan, at Hanover, with several papers enclosed, also another from him without date, were read.*

Ordered, That the letter of the 25th, with the papers enclosed, be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Duer, and Mr. R. H. Lee.

The committee to whom the letter of General Sullivan, with the papers enclosed, was referred, report:

"That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest between Great Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth, who profess themselves to belong to the Society of people commonly called Quakers, render it certain and notorious that those persons are with much rancour and bitterness disaffected to the American cause. That as these persons will have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination, to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and in various other ways to injure the counsels and arms of America.

"That when the enemy, in the month of December, 1776, were bending their progress towards the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication addressed 'To our friends and brethren in religious profession in these and the adjacent provinces,' signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the Meeting of Sufferings, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th of the 12th month, 1776, was published, and as your committee is credibly informed, circulated amongst many members of the Society called Quakers through the different states.

"That as the seditious paper aforesaid originated in the city of Philadelphia, and as the persons whose names are under

* See pages 61, 62, 63, ante; and Appendix, page 299.

mentioned have uniformly manifested a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, therefore

"Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen., Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,) and Samuel R. Fisher, (son of Joshua,) together with all such papers in their possession as may be of a political nature.

"And whereas, there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence and connexion highly prejudicial to the public safety, not only in this state, but in the several states of America,

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the executive powers of the respective states, forthwith to apprehend and secure all persons, as well among the people called Quakers as others, who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America; and that the persons so seized be confined in such places and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters and the security of their persons.

"That the records and papers of the Meetings of Sufferings in the respective states, be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as may be of a political nature be forthwith transmitted to Congress."

The said report being read, and the several paragraphs considered and debated, and the question put severally thereon, the same was agreed to.

COUNCIL.

Sunday, August 31, 1777.

Present, his Excellency Thomas Wharton, Esq., President, Hon. George Bryan, Esq., Vice-President, John Baily, Esq.,

Jonathan Hodge, Esq., John Proctor, Esq., and Joseph Hart, Esq.

Mr. Rittenhouse, Colonel Bradford, Colonel Delany, and Captain Peale, attended in consequence of an invitation from Council, and the resolutions of Congress of the 28th inst. were communicated to them in confidence, and *their assistance asked in forming out a list of persons dangerous to the state*, who ought to be arrested; and also, in forming a list of gentlemen proper to be authorized to arrest such dangerous persons; and the several gentlemen expressed the utmost readiness in complying with the request of Council, and the following resolution was therefore made, viz.: (These resolves are to be seen on pages 71, 72, 73, 74, ante.)

Monday, September 1st.

[Present as before.]

Resolved, That the following persons be appointed to carry into execution the resolves of yesterday, respecting the arresting such persons as are deemed inimical to the cause of American liberty, viz.:

William Bradford, Sharpe Delany, James Claypoole, William Heysham, John Purviance, Joseph Blewer, Paul Cox, Adam Kimmel, William Graham, William Hardy, Charles W. Peale, Captain M'Culloch, Nathaniel Downel, Robert Smith, William Carsan, Lazarus Pine, Captain Birney, John Downey, John Galloway, William Thorpe, John Lisle, James Loughead, James Cannon, James Carr, Thomas Bradford, together with such other persons as they shall call to their assistance.

Note.—That the foregoing resolution (with those before relating to this business), was signed by the Honourable George Bryan, Esq., Vice-President.

Resolved, That Colonel Nicola, the town major, do furnish Colonel Bradford, on application, with a detachment of the City Guards.

September 2d.

Colonel Bradford, Paul Cox, and Captain Blewer, informed the Council, that among a number of other persons mentioned in the warrant of Council of the 31st ult., Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Jr., and David Lenox, were apprehended and confined at the Freemasons' Lodge.

On consideration, ordered, That the said Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Jr., and David Lenox, be committed to the State prison.

September 3d.

The gentlemen appointed and authorized to arrest the persons hereafter named, made the following report, viz.: "Joshua Fisher was ill, that he could not be moved, but gave his verbal promise, as far as required by our instructions; *no papers on public affairs.* Abel James, his son being very ill and *no papers of a public nature*, we allowed him to remain on his plantation, on his promising (verbally) to appear on demand of the President, and not in any manner to speak, write, or give any intelligence to the enemies of the United States of America. *James Pemberton, prisoner, *no papers found of a public nature.* *Israel Pemberton, *Henry Drinker, prisoners, *a number of papers found of a public nature, belonging to the monthly meeting.* *John Pemberton, prisoner, *a number of papers in a brown bag.* John James, not to be found; being in the country. *Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, Sr., prisoners, *no papers.* Samuel Fisher, (son of Joshua,) prisoner, *no papers.* Elijah Brown, Hugh Roberts, seventy years or upwards; says he has never in any manner spoke, or in any way shown himself inimical to the liberty and independence of America, since the commencement of the disputes; we have his verbal word, agreeably to our instructions, and we are to wait on him at two o'clock this afternoon; *we found no papers.* *Miers Fisher, prisoner, *no papers.* *George Roberts, his wife very big, and otherwise ill; he has passed his word as above, and appears at the same hour with his father; and we beg the

directions of His Excellency and the Council. *Joseph Fox, prisoner, *some papers.* *Samuel Emlen, Jr., confined to his bed; *we broke open his desk, but found no papers of a public nature.* Adam Kuhn, D. M., produced the certificate of his having taken the oath to the United States, 2d June, and is to be forthcoming at one o'clock to-day. *Phineas Bond, on parole, *no papers.* *William Smith, D. D., *Rev. Thomas Coombe, prisoner, *no papers.* *Samuel Shoemaker, has given his promise not to go from his house, that he has never had any thing to do with the Meetings for Sufferings, and has disapproved of the proceedings signed by —— Pemberton. *Charles Jervis, prisoner, *no papers.* William Drewet Smith, prisoner, *no papers.* *Pike, (dancing-master,) on parole, *no papers.* *Owen Jones, Jr., prisoner, *no papers.* *William Lenox, Jr., prisoner, *had a pocket-book and some papers.* *Jeremiah Warder, aged and very infirm, having an inflammation, has given his verbal parole, agreeably to our instructions; *we found some papers.* *Caleb Emlen, not to be found. *William Smith, (broker,) prisoner; his chamber is locked up for the inspection of his papers, the key in the possession of Captain Smith. *Charles Eddy, prisoner, *no papers.* *Samuel Murdock, on parole, *no papers.* Alexander Stedman, prisoner. Charles Stedman, Jr., prisoner. *Robert Asheton, (merchant,) on parole. William Imlay, prisoner, *no papers.* *Thomas Gilpin, prisoner, *no papers.* *Samuel Jackson, out of town; no search has been made for papers as yet. *Thomas Affleck, prisoner, *no papers.*

"N.B. Caleb Emlen, on being arrested, took the oath as required by law, and was therefore discharged."

Colonel Bradford, Colonel Will, Major Keer, and Mr. Loughead, reported, that they had arrested Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, but that they all refused to move from the house of the said Pemberton, where they now are, unless they were arrested by some civil officer: therefore, ordered, That Colonel Nicola, town major, do take a proper guard, and seize Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel

Pleasants, and conduct them to the Freemasons' Lodge, and there confine them under guard, until further orders: and Phineas Bond having, by letter, declared his renunciation of the parole he has signed, therefore ordered, That Colonel Nicola do also seize and confine him, in like manner, until further orders.

CONGRESS.

Wednesday, September 3d, 1777.

A letter of the 2d, from George Bryan, Esq., Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, was read, informing that "In consequence of the recommendation of Congress, and their own persuasion of the propriety and necessity of the measure, the Council have taken up several persons inimically disposed towards the American States; that few of the Quakers among these are willing to make any promise of any kind; and desiring the advice of Congress, particularly *whether Augusta and Winchester, in Virginia, would not be suitable places in which to secure these persons:*" whereupon,

Resolved, That Congress approve of the Quaker prisoners being sent to Virginia, and in the opinion of Congress that Staunton, in the County of Augusta, is the most proper place in Virginia, for their residence, and security; and with regard to the other prisoners mentioned in their letter, Congress leave it to the Supreme Executive Council, to do with them as they in their wisdom shall think best.

The Supreme Executive Council having sent to Congress, by one of the delegates of their state, sundry original letters and papers found in the possession of some of the Quakers taken into custody, the same were read.

Ordered, That they be referred to the committee to whom General Sullivan's letter of the 21st of August was referred.

COUNCIL.

September 4th, 1777.

Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, attended by Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Robeson, (attorneys,) and also by Samuel Rhoads, Jr., *sent in by the Secretary a request to be heard* by the Council; *to which the Council, by the Secretary, answered: that the arrest has been made by order of Congress, and that at present the Council decline hearing them;* that the Secretary returned and informed Council, that Mr. Pemberton, on behalf of himself, Mr. Hunt, and Pleasants, observed, no arrest had been made by the town major; that one of them had not seen or been spoken to by him; that as freemen, they claimed the right of being heard in their defence before the Council; that nothing on their part should be said but what was decent and proper; that theirs is a case in which every freeman in the State is interested; and that this right of being heard they demanded and insisted on. To which the Council, by the Secretary, answered: *that the Council has ordered this arrest in consequence of a recommendation of Congress, and they do not, at present, think proper to hear Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Hunt, and Mr. Pleasants.*

A remonstrance from the aforesaid was presented and read.

Colonel Nicola reports, that he has executed the orders of yesterday, and had conducted Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, Samuel Pleasants, and Phineas Bond, to the Freemasons' Lodge, and secured them under guard.

Ordered, *That the persons now confined in the Freemasons' Lodge, be sent to Staunton, in Augusta County, in the State of Virginia, agreeable to the resolve of Congress; there to be secured and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters, and the security of their persons.*

Ordered, That the lieutenants of the respective counties do furnish proper guards of militia for prisoners, whether tories or others, when application shall be made to them for such purposes.

September 5th.

[Present as before], and Jacob Morgan, Esq.

The President laid before the Council a remonstrance delivered to him last evening, by John Reynell, James Craig, and Owen Jones, signed by the gentlemen confined in the Masons' Lodge, which was read, and thereupon ordered, That the said remonstrance be laid before Congress, and that application be made to Congress to know whether they had any objections to such of the aforesaid gentlemen as should now take an oath or affirmation of allegiance to this State, being enlarged; to which Congress return the following resolve, viz.:

In Congress, September 5th, 1777.

Resolved, That the Supreme Executive Council be informed that the Congress have no objection to the enlargement of such persons now confined in the Lodge, as will swear or affirm allegiance to this State.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

Therefore, resolved, That such of the persons now confined in the Lodge, as shall take an oath or affirmation of allegiance to this State, shall be thereupon discharged.

Ordered, that the Secretary write to Colonel Bradford, and request him to communicate the last-mentioned resolve to the gentlemen confined in the Lodge.

CONGRESS.

Friday, September 5th, 1777.

A letter of this day from Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of Pennsylvania, was read, informing that the persons detained in the Masons' Lodge, *have had notice of their going to-morrow to Augusta*, and desiring an answer, "Whether the removal of

those persons may not be relaxed as to such as would yet swear or affirm allegiance to this State;" also including a remonstrance to the Council of Pennsylvania, from twenty persons in the Lodge :* whereupon,

Resolved, That the Supreme Executive Council be informed that Congress have no objection to the enlargement of such persons now confined in the Lodge as will swear or affirm to this State.

A remonstrance from Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, Henry Drinker, Thomas Fisher, Samuel Pleasants, and Samuel R. Fisher, was read :†

Ordered to lie on the table :

The committee to whom the papers sent to Congress by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania were referred, brought in a report, which was read.

Ordered, that the consideration thereof be postponed.

CONGRESS.

Saturday, September 6, 1777.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee to whom were referred the papers transmitted by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania ; whereupon

Ordered, That the papers as reported by the committee, from No. 1 to 11, be published.

Congress took into consideration the remonstrance from Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, Henry Drinker, Thomas Fisher, Samuel Pleasants, and Samuel R. Fisher, who were taken into custody upon the recommendation of Congress, praying to be heard ; whereupon

Resolved, *That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania to hear what the said remonstrants can allege to remove the suspicions of their being disaffected or dangerous to the United States, and act therein as the said Council judge most conducive to the public safety.*

* See pages 95 to 99. † See page 103.

COUNCIL.

Saturday, September 6, 1777.

[Present, as yesterday.]

A resolve of Congress, of this date, recommending to this Council to hear what Israel Pemberton and divers others, therein named, can allege to remove the suspicion of their being disaffected or dangerous to the United States, being read and considered,

Resolved, *That the President do write to the Congress, and let them know, that the Council has not time to attend to that business, in the present alarming crisis, and that they were, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, at the moment the said resolve was brought into Council, disposing of every thing for the departure of the prisoners.*

CONGRESS.

Monday, September 8, 1777.

Congress took into consideration the letter of the 6th, from the Council of Pennsylvania, *wherein they informed, "that at the time the resolves of Congress of the 6th came to them, the Council were disposing of every thing for the departure of the gentlemen confined in the Masons' Lodge;* that the hearing of some may be censured as a partial proceeding, and therefore they wish the same indulgence may be granted to all; that as this may be tedious, and, in the midst of the present load of important business before Council, of which that of embodying the militia is not the least part, they have not leisure to undertake it; that, as much injury will ensue to their commonwealth, if Council at present yield any further attention to this matter, *they therefore earnestly request that Congress may hear and dispose of the gentlemen prisoners in the Masons' Lodge, and also of those who are on promise or parole, in such manner as to their wisdom shall seem best,* and that for this purpose a list of the prisoners is herewith sent;" whereupon

Resolved, That it would be improper for Congress to enter into any hearing of the remonstrants or the other prisoners in the Lodge, they being inhabitants of Pennsylvania; *and therefore, as the Council declines giving them a hearing*, for the reasons assigned in their letter to Congress, that it be recommended to the said Council to order the immediate departure of such of the said prisoners as yet refuse to swear or affirm allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, to Staunton, in Virginia.

COUNCIL.

Monday, September 8th.

[Present, as above.]

A remonstrance from the people confined in the Masons' Lodge* was presented by the Secretary, and read. Thereupon, the Secretary was ordered to acquaint Dr. Hutchinson, one of the gentlemen who delivered the said remonstrance to him, *that Council had referred the case to Congress.*

Tuesday, September 9th.

Colonel William Bradford now attended the Council, and reported, that he had on Friday evening last, waited upon the prisoners now confined at the Masons' Lodge, and shown them the certified copy of the resolve of Congress, relating to them, of the 5th inst., and had given them a copy thereof; but that the prisoners had given him no reason to expect a compliance with the terms proposed them.

The following resolve of Congress was read, viz.:

IN CONGRESS.

September 8th, 1777.

Resolved, That it would be *improper for Congress to enter into the hearing of the remonstrants, or other prisoners in the Masons' Lodge, they being inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, and therefore, as the Council decline giving them a hearing, for the

* See pages 107 to 110.

reasons assigned in their letters to Congress, that it be recommended to said Council, to order the immediate departure of such of the said prisoners as yet refuse to swear or affirm allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, to Staunton in Virginia.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

On consideration, Resolved, That James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen., Thomas Fisher, (son of Joshua,) Miers Fisher, Elijah Brown, John Hunt, Phineas Bond, Rev. Thomas Coombe, Charles Jervis, William Drewet Smith, Charles Eddy, T. Pike, Owen Jones, jun., Edward Pennington, William Smith, (broker,) Thomas Gilpin, Thomas Affleck, apprehended by Council, as persons who have uniformly manifested, by their general conduct and conversation, a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, imprisoned in the Freemasons' Lodge in this city, they refusing to confine themselves to their several dwellings, and thereby making the restraint of their persons, in another manner, necessary, and having refused to promise to refrain from corresponding with the enemy, and also declined giving any assurance of allegiance to this state, as of right they ought, do hereby renounce all the privileges of citizenship; and that it appears, they consider themselves as subjects of the King of Great Britain, the enemy of this and the other United States of America, and that they ought to be proceeded with accordingly.

Resolved, That persons of like character, and in emergencies equal to the present, when the enemy is at our door, have, in the other states, been arrested and secured, upon suspicions arising from their general behaviour, and refusal to acknowledge their allegiance to the state of which they were the proper subjects; and, that such proceedings may be abundantly justified by the conduct of the freest nations and the authority of the most judicious civilians; therefore,

Resolved, That the persons whose names are mentioned above, be, without further delay, removed to Staunton, in Virginia.

September 10th, 1777.

Colonel Nicola, town-major, representing that he could not procure the horses necessary for the guards—

Ordered, To escort the prisoners from the Masons' Lodge towards Reading; a warrant to impress six horses, with saddles, was issued, directed to him.

An order was drawn on the treasurer, in favour of Mr. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell, gentlemen of the Light Horse, ordered to escort the prisoners on their way to Augusta, for the sum of £100, to pay their expenses, as far as the present escort may go, and for which they are to account.

September 16th.

[Present, Wharton, Bryan, Bailey, Hart, and Morgan.]

Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, one of the gentlemen of the Light Horse, appointed to escort the prisoners to Winchester, in Virginia, reports, That Israel Pemberton, and divers others of them, had obtained writs of habeas corpus, ordering Lewis Nicola to bring the bodies of the said Israel Pemberton and others before him, on the 17th inst., at the place in the writ expressed; and the Honourable House of General Assembly having this day passed an act, entitled an act, &c.—Ordered, That a writ be issued, authorizing and empowering Samuel Caldwell and Alexander Nesbitt, to receive the bodies of Israel Pemberton, &c., (naming them,) who have been, in consequence of the recommendation of Congress, arrested and sent forward towards Winchester, in Virginia, and them to deliver to Jacob Morgan and John Oldt, to be forwarded to the place of their destination.

CONGRESS.

Monday, October 13th, 1777.

[Sundry letters.] One of the first from John Smith, lieutenant of Frederick County, Virginia, with sundry papers enclosed, was read, also a remonstrance from Israel Pemberton and others, and a memorial from Chevalier Du Portail, were read.

Ordered, That the memorial from Israel Pemberton and others, be referred to the Board of War.

Monday, December 8th, 1777.

Sundry intercepted letters from Owen Jones, Jr., to sundry persons at Lancaster, were laid before Congress.

Ordered, That they be referred to a committee of three; the members chosen, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Duer, and Mr. Harvie.

Tuesday, December 9th, 1777.

The committee to whom were referred the intercepted letters from Owen Jones, Jr., to sundry persons at Lancaster, brought in a report and desired leave to sit again.

Congress took into consideration the report; whereupon, Resolved, That the letters from Owen Jones, Jr., a prisoner of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and confined at Winchester, in Virginia, to sundry persons at Lancaster, be transmitted by the Board of War to the President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania; and that it be recommended to the executive authority of the said State to take such measures in the premises as they in their wisdom shall deem meet.

Ordered, That the committee have leave to sit again.

Wednesday, December 24th, 1777.

A memorial from Israel Pemberton and others, to the Congress and Executive Council of Pennsylvania, was read.

Thursday, January 1st, 1778.

A memorial to Congress and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from Israel Pemberton and others, also a letter from Owen Jones, Jr., to James Duane, Esq., were read.

Resolved, That the consideration thereof be postponed.

CONGRESS.

A petition from Isaac Zane, Joseph Janney, Benjamin Wright, William Jackson, John Parrish, and Joseph Wright, was read.

Ordered, That the petition be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Clark.

Wednesday, January 28th, 1778.

The committee to whom the petition of Isaac Zane and others, was referred, reported verbally.

Ordered, That the consideration of this matter be postponed till to-morrow.

Thursday, January 29th, 1778.

Congress resumed the consideration of the petition of Isaac Zane, &c., whereupon,

Resolved, That the prisoners now at Winchester, in the State of Virginia, who have been apprehended by the government of Pennsylvania, in consequence of the resolution of Congress of the 28th of August, 1777, be discharged from their confinement on their taking and subscribing either the oath or affirmation of allegiance, as prescribed by the laws of Pennsylvania, or the following oath or affirmation, at the option of the persons confined, viz.:

"I, A. B., do swear (or affirm), that I acknowledge myself a subject of the State of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent state, and that I will in all things demean myself as a good and faithful subject ought to do."

Ordered, That the President write to the Governor of Virginia, and inform him of this resolution.

COUNCIL.

Lancaster, February 4th, 1778.

Present, Wharton, Joseph Hart, John Hambright, Thomas Urie, Thomas Scott, and James Edgar.

The following address was read, to wit:

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, NOW SITTING AT LANCASTER.

These may show,

That we, the subscribers, being appointed on behalf of the Westerly Quarterly Meeting of the people called Quakers, in order to lay before you various deeply distressing cases and circumstances, that nearly affect us, as a religious Society, request an admittance to be heard by you, for the purpose above said; which favour will be acknowledged by your real friends.

Warren Mifflin,	William Jackson, Jr.,
Abraham Gibbons,	James Jackson,
Jos. Husband,	Jacob Lindley.

Lancaster, 23d of 2d month, 1778.

Ordered, That the subscribers of the said request be informed, that the Council are willing to attend to their representation to be made in writing, and are disposed to hear them on such matters as may be contained therein, so far as is within the cognizance of the Council.

The following representation was read, viz.:

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, NOW SITTING AT LANCASTER.

Lancaster, 24th 2d month, 1778.

We, the subscribers, are desirous to lay before you,

1st, the case of a number of our friends, now under confinement at Winchester, in Virginia, by the authority of your

body, as we apprehend, whose release we strongly desire, or if that cannot be obtained, that three or more of them, on behalf of the rest, may be heard in their own vindication, either before Council or Congress, as you may direct.

2dly, That you would weightily consider the situation of four of our friends, closely confined in the common jail of this borough.

3dly, That you would interpose for our relief, in case of exorbitant fines, taken from us, because of our conscience sake we cannot yield our personal service in war.

4thly, We desire a redress of grievance in a certain law, commonly called the test law.

[Signed as the above.]

Whereas Doctor Parke, and one Morton, both of the city of Philadelphia, the former son-in-law, and the latter stepson of James Pemberton, have presumed to undertake a journey from Philadelphia to Winchester, without calling at headquarters, or obtaining permission from any lawful authority:

Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to cause the said Parke and Morton to be apprehended and confined in prison, till further orders.

CONGRESS.

Tuesday, March 10th, 1778.

A letter of the 7th, from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, was read, representing that "the affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are so circumstanced as to admit the return of the prisoners sent from that State into Virginia, without danger to the commonwealth, or to the common cause of America. *That the dangerous example which their longer continuance in banishment may afford on future occasions has already given uneasiness to some good friends to the independency of these States,*" and requesting, "*if Congress have no other reasons for continuing them in Virginia than the Council*

are acquainted with, that such orders may be given as shall put those people again under the direction and authority of the President and Council of their State."

Monday, March 16th, 1778.

Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to deliver to the order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, the prisoners sent from that State to Virginia.

COUNCIL.

April 6th, 1778.

A letter from his Excellency, General Washington, inclosing one from Mrs. Mary Pemberton to him, requesting a protection for one or more wagons, and for the persons who may be employed to go with them to Winchester, to carry necessaries for the prisoners sent there from this state.

On consideration, ordered, that a protection be granted for two wagons and the necessary persons to take care of them, and conduct them to this borough, on their way to the said prisoners.

April 8th, 1778.

The resolve of Congress of 16th March last, "That the Board of War be directed to deliver over to the order of the President and Council of Pennsylvania, the prisoners sent from this state to Virginia," being now read, and the law for the further security of the government taken into consideration, as far as the same may affect the said prisoners, thereupon ordered, that the said prisoners, to wit, Israel Pemberton, (and others named,) be brought to Shippensburg, in this State, and there enlarged. That they be informed of the law passed for the further security of the government, by giving to Mr. Israel Pemberton, or some one of the said prisoners, a printed copy of the said law, for the inspection of the whole: that Mr.

Francis Y. Baily and Captain Lang, be appointed to apply to the Board of War for, and receive from them, an order for the delivery of the prisoners sent from this State to Virginia, and that the Board of War be requested to give orders for such assistance in procuring wagons to bring the prisoners into this State, and there set them at liberty; and that on the journey they be treated with the respect due to their characters.

Ordered, That the lieutenants of the counties through which the aforesaid prisoners may pass, do give the necessary assistance to Mr. Baily and Captain Lang, by furnishing wagons or other assistance, which they may stand in need of.

Ordered, *That the whole expense of arresting and confining the prisoners sent to Virginia, the expenses of their journey, and all other incidental charges, be paid by the said prisoners.*

April 10th.

An address from the wives and near friends of the prisoners in Virginia, was read and considered, to wit:

Representation of the wives of the prisoners in Virginia, read in Council, April 10th, 1778:

TO THE CONGRESS, BOARD OF WAR, PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, AND ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

We, the afflicted and sorrowful wives, parents, and near connexions of the Friends in banishment, at and near Winchester, think ourselves bound by the strongest ties of natural affection, sympathy, and regard, to request you, that you suffer Christian charity and compassion so far to prevail in your minds as to take off the bonds of those innocent and oppressed Friends, and entreat you not let the ruin of such, who have evidenced their strong attachment to their native country, and a benevolent disposition to mankind in general, to lie at the door of a people professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ, one of whose excellent precepts was, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The melancholy account we have lately received, of the indisposition of our beloved husbands and children, and that the awful messenger—death—had made an inroad on one of their number, (Thomas Gilpin,) to the unspeakable grief and irreparable loss of an amiable wife and children, hath deeply affected our minds, and divers of our families are in a distressed situation. We therefore ardently desire you to make the case your own. No doubt many of you have wives and tender children, and must know that, in time of trial and distress, none are so proper to alleviate and bear a part of the burden, as their affectionate husbands.

We firmly believe these, our dear friends, are clear and innocent of the charges alleged against them; which they, for themselves, and their friends for them, have fully answered; and that they are now suffering for a steady and firm adherence to their inoffensive and peaceable principles.

This application to you on this interesting subject, is entirely an act of our own. We have not consulted our absent friends on the occasion, hoping and believing it will not be of disservice; and we request you will take no offence at the freedom of women so deeply interested as we are in this matter, and that Divine Benevolence may so influence your hearts as to grant our earnest request; in which, we doubt not, you will find true peace in the hour of retribution; and it will be also an inexpressible consolation to your suffering and sorrowful friends,

Hannah Pemberton,
Isabella Affleck,
Rebecca Jervis,
Phebe Pemberton,
Sarah R. Fisher,
Mary Eddy,
Sarah Pennington,
Rachel Wharton,
Esther Fisher,
Mary Pemberton,
Eliza Drinker,
Sarah Fisher,
Susanna Jones,
Mary Pleasants,
Mary Brown,
Elizabeth Smith,
Eliza Jervis,
Rachel Hunt.

Philadelphia, 4th month 1st, 1778.

Ordered, That the prisoners now in Virginia, be brought to this borough, instead of being enlarged at Shippensburg.

The Board of War having sent to Council an order to Joseph Holmes, Esq., to deliver over to the order of the President and Council of this State, all prisoners of this State now under his care, thereupon

Ordered, That an order be endorsed thereon, for the delivery of the said prisoners to Mr. Baily and Captain Lang.

April 21st.

The Council resuming the consideration of the case of the prisoners which are ordered to this borough from Winchester, agreeable to the request of Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pemberton, Mrs. Pleasants, and Mrs. Drinker, and the same being fully considered, thereupon

Ordered, That on their arrival here, it shall be at the election of the said prisoners to be set at liberty in the borough, or at Pottsgrove, in the county of Philadelphia.

April 27th.

Captain Lang and Mr. Baily report, that they had received from Alexander White, Esq., who acted for and in behalf of Joseph Holmes, Esq., Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, the following persons, agreeable to the order of this Council, viz.: Israel Pemberton, &c.; and that the said gentlemen were now in this borough, agreeable to the order of Council. That they had been informed by Alexander White, Esq., that Thomas Gilpin and John Hunt were dead. Thomas Affleck, one of the prisoners sent to Virginia, having obtained leave to come to this borough, in consideration of the dangerous illness of his wife, being also arrived here.

The case of the prisoners brought from Virginia, and now in this borough, being considered, thereupon

Ordered, That they be immediately sent to Pottsgrove, in the County of Philadelphia, and there discharged from confine-

ment; and that they be furnished with a copy of the order, which shall be deemed a discharge.

(Note. Under the certified copy of this resolve, given to the respective gentlemen, the following certificate was inserted, and signed by the Secretary, viz.:

(A. B.) of the City of Philadelphia, gentleman, one of the prisoners referred to by the above order of Council, is hereby permitted, with his horses, servants, and baggage, to pass unmolested into the County of Philadelphia, agreeably to the said order, which is to be respected as their discharge.)

A pass to Philadelphia, for Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pemberton, Mrs. Pleasants, and Mrs. Drinker, and for Israel Morris, who attended them, being requested; on consideration,

Ordered, That a pass be granted to the aforesaid persons, with their servant, to return to headquarters, and from thence to Philadelphia, if General Washington shall think proper for them so to do.

PAPERS PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS.

(See Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, No. 304, dated Tuesday, 6 September, 1777, in the Philadelphia Library, No. 384, Folio.)

Philadelphia, September 6.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, GIVEN FORTH BY A MEETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SAID PEOPLE, IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY, HELD AT PHILADELPHIA THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF THE FIRST MONTH, 1775.

Having considered with real sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Legislature of Great Britain and the people of these Colonies, and the animosities consequent thereon; we have by

repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavours to dissuade the members of our religious Society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which as we apprehended, so we now find have increased contention, and produced great discord and confusion.

The divine principle of grace and truth which we profess, leads all who attend to its dictates, to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King, as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government; to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them—their spirit and temper being not only contrary to the nature and precepts of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society, disqualify men in these times of difficulty, for the wise and judicious consideration and promoting of such measures as would be most effectual for reconciling differences, or obtaining the redress of grievances.

From our past experience of the clemency of the King and his royal ancestors, we have grounds to hope and believe, that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the Colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience, for the enjoyment of which, our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas, and of settling in the wilderness.

We are, therefore, incited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every

usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by the conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice," we hope through his assistance and favour, to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the King and his government, as by law established; earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have hitherto united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the divine blessing on their labours.

Signed, in and on behalf of the said meeting,

JAMES PEMBERTON,
Clerk at this time.

The Quakers in Pennsylvania, much alarmed at the present distracted proceedings of the Colonies, in the opposition making to the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, foreseeing the most fatal consequences both to themselves and the parent country, have thought it necessary to address their brethren in the adjacent provinces, and have published the following epistle, declaring their disapprobation of the measures prosecuting for obtaining redress, and earnestly requesting all of their communion to avoid joining in such measures as are totally inconsistent with their religious principles.

AN EPISTLE FROM THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS, HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, FOR PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY, THE FIFTH DAY OF THE FIRST MONTH, 1775.

To our friends and brethren in these and the adjacent Provinces.

Dear Friends,—

During the troubles and commotions which have prevailed, and still continue in this once peaceful land, much seasonable

and weighty advice hath been frequently communicated, and particularly by our late Yearly Meeting, exhorting Friends in every part of their conduct, to act agreeable to the peaceable principles and testimony we profess; which we fervently desire may be duly attended to and put in practice; yet as some public resolves have been lately entered into, with the concurrence and approbation of some members of our religious Society, the nature and tendency of which are evidently contrary to our religious principles, our minds have been deeply affected with affliction and sorrow, and we have in much affection and brotherly love been engaged to use our endeavours to convince these our brethren of their deviation: in the discharge of which duty, so far as we have proceeded, we have had the evidence of peace.

And, dear friends, we are now constrained in the renewings of true love, to intreat and exhort all, with humility and reverence, to bear in mind, that our real welfare and preservation, on the foundation of our religious fellowship and communion, depends on our faithfully adhering to the doctrines and precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, who expressly declared, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." (John xviii. 36.) Which ever since we were a people, we have publicly professed should be religiously observed by us as the rule of our conduct.

As divers members of our religious Society, some of them without their consent or knowledge, have been lately nominated to attend on and engage in some public affairs, which they cannot undertake without deviating from these our religious principles; we therefore earnestly beseech and advise them, and all others, to consider the end and purpose of every measure to which they are desired to become parties, and with great circumspection and care to guard against joining in any for the asserting and maintaining our rights and liberties, which on mature deliberation, appear not to be dictated by that

"wisdom which is from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and full of mercy and good fruits." (James iii. 16.)

"Every instance of conduct inconsistent with our Christian profession, tends to violate the testimony we ought to maintain of the sufficiency of that divine principle of light and grace, by a steady attention to which our ancestors were led, in times of great commotion and difficulty, to an humble patient waiting for that relief and liberty, which after a time of deep suffering was granted them."

And as they were often engaged with Christian fortitude and freedom to remonstrate to those who were in power, whenever under sufferings, they could safely do it, without fear of being reproached for any part of their conduct having ministered just occasion of offence; or for having ever been concerned in any kind of conspiracies, or combinations against the government under which they lived.

"Should any now so far deviate from their example, and the practice of faithful Friends at all times since, as manifest a disposition to contend for liberty by any methods or agreements contrary to the peaceable spirit and temper of the gospel, which ever breathes peace on earth and good-will to all men;" as it is the duty, we desire it may be the care of Friends, in every meeting where there are any such, speedily to treat with them, agreeable to our Christian discipline, and endeavour to convince them of their error; in which labour let all be done in true charity and brotherly love, and the effect will be happy to those who receive it in the same spirit. This religious care steadily maintained, will clearly testify the sincerity of our desires "to guard against being drawn into measures which may minister occasion to any to represent us as a people departing from the principles we profess; and will likewise excite such, who have been so incautious as to enter into engagements, the terms and tendency of which they had not duly considered, to avoid doing any thing inconsistent with our principles;" and constantly to remember, that to fear God, honour the king, and do good to all men, is our indispensable duty.

And, dear friends,

And in a degree of that divine love which unites in Christian communion and fellowship, we tenderly salute you, desiring that we may more diligently press after and seek for an establishment on that Rock, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, that we may be supported steadfast, when storms and tempests, which for the trial of our faith and the more thoroughly purging us from those things which are of a defiling nature, are permitted; for the Lord, whom we desire to serve, tenderly regards his depending children, and all his chastisements are in mercy directed to redeem and preserve them from evil.

Signed, in and on behalf of the said meeting, by

JOHN PEMBERTON,
Clerk.

THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT; AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA. ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

A religious concern for our friends and fellow-subjects of every denomination, and more especially for those of all ranks, who in the present commotions, are engaged in public employments and stations, induces us earnestly to beseech every individual, in the most solemn manner, to consider the end and tendency of the measures they are promoting; and on the most impartial inquiry into the state of their minds, carefully to examine whether they are acting in the fear of God, and in conformity to the precepts and doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we profess to believe in, and that by him alone we expect to be saved from our sins.

The calamities and afflictions which now surround us should, as we apprehend, affect every mind with the most awful

consideration of the dispensations of Divine Providence to mankind in general in former ages, and that as the sins and iniquities of the people subjected them to grievous sufferings, the same causes still produce the like effects.

The inhabitants of these provinces were long signally favoured with peace and plenty. Have the returns of true thankfulness been generally manifest? Have integrity and godly simplicity been maintained, and religiously regarded? Hath a religious care to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, been evident? Hath the precept of Christ, to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, been the governing rule of our conduct? Hath an upright impartial desire to prevent the slavery and oppression of our fellow-men, and to restore them to their natural rights, to true Christian liberty, been cherished and encouraged? Or have pride, wantonness, luxury, profaneness, a partial spirit, and forgetfulness of the goodness and mercies of God, become lamentably prevalent? Have we not, therefore, abundant occasion to break off from our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor; and with true contrition and abasement of soul, to humble ourselves, and supplicate the almighty Preserver of men, to show favour, and to renew unto us a state of tranquillity and peace?

It is our fervent desire that this may soon appear to be the pious resolution of the people in general, of all ranks and denominations; then may we have a well-grounded hope, that wisdom from above, which is pure, peaceable, and full of mercy and good fruits, will preside and govern in the deliberations of those who, in these perilous times, undertake the transaction of the most important public affairs; and that by their steady care and endeavours, constantly to act under the influences of this wisdom, those of inferior stations will be incited diligently to pursue those measures which make for peace, and tend to the reconciliation of contending parties, on principles dictated by the spirit of Christ, who "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." (Luke ix. 56.)

We are so fully assured that these principles are the most

certain and effectual means of preventing the extreme misery and desolations of wars and bloodshed, that we are constrained to entreat all who profess faith in Christ, to manifest that they really believe in him and desire to obtain the blessings he pronounced to the makers of peace. (Matt. v. 9.)

His spirit ever leads to seek for and improve every opportunity of promoting peace and reconciliation, and constantly to remember that as we really confide in him, he can, in his own time, change the hearts of all men in such manner, that the way to obtain it, hath been often opened contrary to every human prospect or expectation.

May we, therefore, heartily and sincerely unite in supplications to the Father of Mercies, to grant the plentiful effusions of his spirit to all, and in an especial manner to those in superior stations, that they may with sincerity, guard against and reject all such measures and councils, as may increase and perpetuate the discord, animosities, and unhappy contentions which now sorrowfully abound.

We cannot but with distressed minds, beseech all such in the most solemn and awful manner, to consider that, if by their acting and persisting in a proud, selfish spirit, and not regarding the dictates of true wisdom, such measures are pursued as tend to the shedding of innocent blood; in the day when they and all men shall appear at the judgment seat of Christ, to receive a reward according to their works, they will be excluded from his favour, and their portion will be everlasting misery. (See Matt. xxv. 41; 2 Cor. v. 10.)

The peculiar evidence of divine regard manifested to our ancestors, in the founding and settlement of these provinces, we have often commemorated, and desire ever to remember, with true thankfulness and reverent admiration.

When we consider—That at the time they were persecuted and subjected to severe sufferings, as a people unworthy of the benefits of civil or religious liberty, the hearts of the king and rulers under whom they suffered, were inclined to grant them these fruitful countries, and entrust them with charters of very

extensive powers and privileges. That on their arrival here, the minds of the natives were inclined to receive them with great hospitality and friendship; and to cede to them the most valuable part of their land on very easy terms. That while the principles of justice and mercy continued to preside, they were preserved in tranquillity and peace, free from the desolating calamities of war; and their endeavours were wonderfully blessed and prospered, so that the saying of the wisest of kings was signally verified to them, "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." (Pro. xvi. 7.)

The benefits, advantages and favour we have experienced by our dependence on, and connexion with, the kings and government, under which we have enjoyed this happy state, appear to demand from us the greatest circumspection, care, and constant endeavours, to guard against every attempt to alter or subvert that dependence or connexion.

The scenes lately presented to our view, and the prospect before us, we are sensible are very distressing and discouraging; and though we lament that such amicable measures as have been proposed, both here and in England, for the adjustment of the unhappy contests subsisting, have not yet been effectual, nevertheless, we should rejoice to observe the continuance of mutual peaceable endeavours for effecting a reconciliation; having grounds to hope that the divine favour and blessing will attend them.

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, since we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up, and putting down kings and government, is God's peculiar prerogative; for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busybodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the king, and safety of our nation, and good of all men; that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty; under the

government which God is pleased to set over us."—Ancient Testimony, 1696, in Sewall's History.

May we therefore firmly unite in the abhorrence of all such writings, and measures, as evidence a desire and design to break off the happy connexion we have heretofore enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him; that thus the repeated solemn declarations, made on this subject, in the addresses sent to the king, on behalf of the people of America in general, may be confirmed, and remain to be our firm and sincere intentions to observe and fulfil.

Signed, in and on behalf of a meeting of the representatives of our religious Society, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; held at Philadelphia, the 20th day of the first month, 1776.

JOHN PEMBERTON,
Clerk.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN IN RELIGIOUS PROFESSION, IN THESE AND THE ADJACENT PROVINCES.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren.

Our minds being renewedly impressed with a fervent religious concern for your spiritual welfare, and preservation in the love and fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, by the constrainings of his love, we are engaged to salute you in this time of deep exercise, affliction, and difficulty; earnestly desiring, that we may by steady circumspection and care, in every part of our conduct and conversation, evidence, that under the close trials, which are and may be permitted to attend us, our faith and reliance is fixed on him alone for protection and deliverance, remembering his gracious promise to his faithful followers, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

And "as it became him for whom are all things, and by

whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings," (Heb. ii. 10) let us not be dismayed, if we are now led in the same path.

As we keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, which is over all, and therein seek the good of all, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing that is below, will hinder or break our heavenly fellowship in the light and spirit of Christ. (G. Fox's Epistle, 1685.)

Thus we may with Christian fortitude and firmness withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by other assistance, to join in carrying on war, and in prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of the happy constitution, under which we and others long enjoyed tranquillity and peace.

We therefore, in the aboundings of that love, which wisheth the spiritual and temporal prosperity of all men, exhort, admonish and caution, all who make religious profession with us, and especially our beloved youth, to stand fast in that liberty, wherewith through the manifold sufferings of our predecessors, we have been favoured, and steadily to bear our testimony against every attempt to deprive us of it.

And, dear friends, you who have known the truth, and the powerful operations thereof in your minds, adhere faithfully thereto, and by your good examples and stability, labour to strengthen the weak, confirm the wavering, and warn and caution the unwary against being beguiled by the snares of the adversaries of truth and righteousness. Let not the fear of suffering, either in person or property, prevail on any to join with or promote any work or preparation for war.

Our profession and principles are founded on that spirit which is contrary to, and will in time put an end to all wars, and bring in everlasting righteousness; and by our constantly

abiding under the direction and instruction of that spirit, we may be endued with that "wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." (James iii. 17.) That this may be our happy experience is our fervent desire and prayer.

Signed, in and on behalf of the meeting for sufferings held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th day of the 12th month, 1776.

JOHN PEMBERTON,
Clerk.

MINUTE OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING HELD IN PHILADELPHIA, 8TH MONTH, 4TH, 1777.

The account from the several meetings in Philadelphia relating to the subject of sufferings being read, their care and attention to the direction of the Yearly Meeting is approved of, and their further attention on such cases as may arise is desired; and as it may be useful for these now brought to be communicated to the Meeting for Sufferings for further consideration, the clerk is directed to lay them before that meeting.

Copied from the minutes of said meeting.

JOHN PEMBERTON,
Clerk.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF PHILADELPHIA, HELD ON THE 25TH AND 31ST DAYS 7TH MONTH, AND 1ST 8TH MONTH, 1777.

"A committee being appointed, agreeable to the recommendation of our last Yearly Meeting, to advise and assist any of our friends who have been brought under sufferings on account of our Christian testimony, and to preserve a record of sufferings, have acquainted this meeting in writing, that they have several times met and freely conferred on the sub-

ject, and although a number of our brethren have suffered on various occasions under the prevailing tumults and confusions which have attended, yet no account of particular cases hath been so collected as to enable them to make a full report thereon; we have therefore continued the same committee, and desired their further attention to the service, that the intention of the Yearly Meeting may be fulfilled.

AT A MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT, HELD THE 30TH 7TH MONTH, 1777, BY ADJOURNMENT.

The committee appointed by this meeting, to advise and assist such of our members who might be subjected to suffering for the testimony of truth, and to keep a record thereof, agreeably to the direction of the last Yearly Meeting, brought in a report in writing, a copy of which is herewith sent.

"TO THE MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

"We the committee appointed to advise and assist such of our members who might be subjected to suffering for the testimony of truth, and to keep a record thereof, agreeably to the direction of last Yearly Meeting, do report, That we have kept this matter under our care, in order that we might give our assistance when necessary. And although there were some occurrences previous to our appointment, wherein some were subjected to suffering, no cases have fallen out of late which required our particular care. Nevertheless we may observe that some Friends have been injured in their property, by having had blankets taken from them on account of their non-compliance with a requisition that was made for a number of blankets, for the purpose of equipping soldiers going to war. Some also who followed their lawful vocations on the days appointed by those in authority, to be observed as public fasts,

have been molested, and their shops violently shut by the rabble.

"And likewise on the evening of a day lately appointed by the present powers, for public rejoicing, divers Friends had their windows broke by a licentious mob, because they could not join with the multitude in illuminating their windows. But no account has been brought in by any Friend of the loss or damage they have sustained.

"Signed, at the request and on behalf of the committee, by

"JOHN REYNELL.

"Philadelphia, 28th 7th month, 1777."

The Monthly Meeting for the Northern District having had a committee appointed to the like service, produced to that meeting the following report.

"Inasmuch as divers of our members have been subjected to various losses, oppressions and impositions, under the present commotions and tumults, the committee appointed in the 12th month last, to preserve a record of the sufferings of our brethren for a faithful adherence to the cause and testimony of truth, think it right to submit to the consideration of the Monthly Meeting, a general view of the several matters in which the committee have been exercised, to encourage and promote faithfulness, and a conduct consistent with our religious profession, as also by a brotherly sympathy and labour, to endeavour to relieve, assist and strengthen, some of our oppressed brethren.

"Many of our houses have been stripped of the leaden weights used for the hanging of windows, by order of those who have in these tumultuous times assumed the rule. In like manner have a considerable number of blankets been forcibly taken and carried away from many Friends, declared to be for fitting out men to go to war. The being compelled into a contribution for such a purpose has been grievous to honest minds. And some have had their stock of this necessary article so reduced, as to be likely to want the needful covering in a cooler

season. So far as have come to our knowledge, we have reason to believe Friends have mostly suffered in this, and the first instance, with a good degree of patience and meekness, and have generally shown a disapprobation of such exactions.

"The houses of several Friends have been wantonly abused, and their windows broke and destroyed by a rude rabble, for not joining with the present rulers in their pretended acts of devotion, and conforming to their ordinances in making a show of that sort in shutting up our houses and shops, professedly to observe a day of humiliation, and to crave a blessing on their public proceedings, but evidently tending to spread the spirit of strife and contention.

"The like abuses and wanton destruction of our property hath lately been repeated, because Friends could not illuminate their houses, and conform to such vain practices, and outward marks of rejoicing, to commemorate the time of these people's withdrawing themselves from all subjection to the English government, and from our excellent constitution, under which we long enjoyed peace and prosperity.

"Some of our members have also had soldiers forced into their houses and kept there for some time, by which families have been much incommoded, and our peaceable testimony disregarded by the authors of this imposition.

"Edward Wells was seized in the street by a number of armed men, and for refusing to bear arms, or to aid and assist in warlike services, he was committed to the New Prison in this city, and there confined about three days, by order of General Putnam.

"And for the like refusal Thomas Masterman, William Brown, and William Wayne, were taken from their dwellings by an armed company of men, and with drum and music paraded through the streets for a considerable time before they were permitted to return to their habitations.

"Samuel Shaw having been appointed under the present rulers to act in conjunction with their magistrates as an overseer of the poor, after a deliberate consideration of the

matter, concluded to decline the office, believing it to be inconsistent with his own peace of mind, and the solid advice of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. He was fined for refusing to serve, twenty pounds, and had his goods distrained and taken from him to the value of twenty-eight pounds.

"William Compton's case will close the report we have to make, which is set forth in the two following minutes of our Monthly Meeting, except that of his having been kept close prisoner near six weeks, debarred from the conversation and advice of his friends, and thereby prevented from manifesting innocence of the charge brought against him, at a time when he was threatened with very severe usage, even to the endangering of his life, although from aught that has appeared, the authors of this injurious and cruel treatment had not the least grounds therefor.

"5th month 27th, 1777.—The committee appointed to afford their advice and assistance to such of our brethren as might be brought under suffering, having had divers meetings with the overseers and several other Friends, and taken into their consideration the situation of William Compton, one of our members, who was committed to the New Prison in this city on the 18th day of last month, by a written order signed by Philip Schuyler, acting in the character of a general and commander of the military forces in this city; and though repeated applications have been made to him, and his promise obtained, that William should be enlarged, having informed Friends that so far as had come to his knowledge nothing criminal in the view of those who now exercise authority in this place, had upon examination been found against him; yet he is still continued in confinement, and there appears fresh occasion for an exercise of brotherly care and Christian sympathy in his case. After a solid deliberation thereon in this meeting, our friends John Hunt, Charles West, John Parrish, Samuel Smith, William Cowper, William Fisher, Joshua Howell, Isaac Cathrall, and Henry Drinker, were appointed to take the same under their immediate and religious care, and desired to afford such assist-

ance and help therein as our said friend's situation may appear to require, and should they apprehend it necessary, they are at liberty to lay the same before our Meeting for Sufferings for their advice in this matter, in which our Society now is, and may be deeply interested.

"5th month 25th, 1777.—The committee nominated last month having several times met together with some of our brethren in this city, on the day of their appointment and the succeeding day, and seriously considered the alarming stretch of power which had been, and the severity which was proposed to be exercised in the case of William Compton, they concluded it right to remonstrate against, and endeavour to prevent some very arbitrary proceedings, with which he was then threatened, and after diligently pursuing the matter, and personally attending an examination which he was subjected to, a discharge from his confinement was obtained, with a certificate that there did not appear the least grounds for the charge brought against him.

Samuel Smith,
William Cowper,
Charles West,
John Parrish,
Henry Drinker.

"To the Monthly Meeting of Friends of the Northern District of Philadelphia, to be held by adjournment this day.

"Philadelphia, 7th month 29th, 1777."

The foregoing report was read, and considered, in our said meeting, and committed to the care of the representatives, to be laid before our Quarterly Meeting.

Henry Drinker,
Clerk

The amount of Friends' sufferings brought up from our several Monthly Meetings, chiefly for not bearing arms and paying

taxes for supporting a war against the government this year, is four hundred and sixteen pounds five shillings, Pennsylvania currency.

Divers Friends were imprisoned; some soon discharged; three continued prisoners upwards of three months, were fined by the court but not yet levied, and their persons discharged from imprisonment.

Extract from the minutes of our Quarterly Meeting, held in Rahway, the 18th of 8th month, 1777.

By JOHN SHOTWELL,
Clerk.

Extract of a letter from General Sullivan to Congress, dated Hanover, August 25, 1777.

"Among the baggage taken on Staten Island, the 22d instant, I find a number of important papers. A copy of three I enclose for the perusal of Congress. The one from the Yearly Meeting at Spanktown, held the 19th instant, I think worthy the attention of Congress.

"No. 1. Where is Washington? what number of men or cannon?
2. Where is Sterling? what number of men and cannon?
3. Where is Sullivan? &c.
4. Where is Dayton and Ogden? what number?
5. Whether there be any troops passing or repassing?
6. Intelligence from Albany.
7. Intelligence from Philadelphia.
8. Be very particular about time and place.

"Information from Jersey, 19 August, 1777.

"It is said General Howe landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay, but cannot learn the particular spot, nor when.

"Washington lays in Pennsylvania, about twelve miles from Coryell's Ferry.

"Sullivan lays about six miles northward of Morristown, with about two thousand men.

"SPANKTOWN YEARLY MEETING.

"Intelligence from Jersey, Sunday, July 28, 1777.

"I saw on their full march, seven miles from Morristown, on the road to Delaware, General Washington, General Muhlenburg, General Weeden, with two thousand men, and General Knox with his train of artillery, consisting of fourteen field pieces, and one howitz, seventy-nine ammunition wagons, and one hundred and thirty baggage wagons; and then proceeding on the road from Hackettstown to Easton, there saw on their full march to Delaware, General Stevens and General Scott, with four thousand men and light field pieces, and on the road met twenty-nine flat-bottomed boats, and proceeded down to Quibbletown, where I saw General Stirling and General Conway with three thousand men and no field pieces. I am informed that General Sullivan has crossed the North River, and is bringing up the rear. As to the truth of that, I hope I shall be able to inform you in two or three days."

Received, August 31, 1777.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

Many of the historical writers on the American Revolution having censured the Society of Friends for their attachment to the Colonial Government, and for the expressions in their epistles *to their members*, of the satisfaction and advantages they had enjoyed under it, it will be proper to show that Congress, even at a subsequent date, made use of stronger expressions in their public addresses to the *king*, of their loyalty and attachment; and for this purpose the following documents are inserted in relative position to each other.

Epistle of Friends, 1st month 24th, 1775.

"We are therefore excited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by a conscientious discharge of our duties to Almighty God, by whom 'kings reign, and princes decree justice,' we hope through his assistance and favour to be able to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government as by law established, earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have hitherto united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the divine blessing on their labours."

Address of Congress to the King, July 8th, 1775.

"Attached as we are to your majesty's person and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties which can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only most ardently desire that the former happiness between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that hath attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have added the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame."

The historian Gibbon, in summing up the character of the primitive Christians, gives the following account of their principles, which is in remarkable coincidence with the tenets of the Society of Friends, to which reference is made in the Introduction.*

"The Christians were not less averse to the business than to the pleasures of the world. The defence of our persons and property they knew not how to reconcile with the patient doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite fresh insults. Their simplicity

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xv.

was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life; nor could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or by that of war; even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community. It was acknowledged that under a less perfect law the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophets and anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their Pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire."

THE END.